CONSTRUCTING SUIYUAN

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CONSTRUCTING SUIYUAN

The Politics of Northwestern Territory and Development in Early Twentieth-Century China

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

CHC	*Cambridge History of China*
HSL	*Huhehaote shiliao*
Kenwu Files	Archives of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Suiyuan kenwu zongju files
IMAR	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region
MPC	Mongolian Political Council
NMJYSZ	Nei Menggu jiaoyu zhi bianxiehui (ed.) *Nei Menggu jiaoyu shi zhi ziliao*
NMWSZL	*Nei Menggu wenshi ziliao*
PRC	People's Republic of China
QJMSL	Xing Yijian (ed.), *Qing ji Menggu shi lu*
SMPC	Suiyuan Mongolian Political Council
SRB	*Suiyuan ribao*
SSAR	Suiyuan Special Administrative Region
STZG 1971	Suiyuan tong zhi guan (ed.), *Suiyuan tong zhi gao* published edition
STZG manuscript	Suiyuan tong zhi guan (ed.), *Suiyuan tong zhi gao*, manuscript copy of 1971 revised draft
SYPXX	*Suiyuan lü Ping xuehui xuekan*
TSL	*Tumote shi liao*
ZWX	Zhang Zhidong, *Zhang Wenxiang gong ji*

A NOTE ON LANGUAGE AND REFERENCING

TRANSLITERATION, LANGUAGES AND NAMES

All translations in this book except where noted are my own. Except in the case of some personal names such as Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen, this book uses the *Hanyu pinyin* system to transliterate Chinese (this includes all titles and publication details for Chinese language sources published in Taiwan). A variety of systems exist for the transliteration of Mongolian. I have generally followed the system employed by Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer in *Mongolia's Culture and Society* and have omitted diacritical markings. Where Mongolian names have been transliterated into Chinese and I have not found a romanised transliteration, I use hyphens between each syllable (e.g.: Hu-gu-ji-le). In places in the text where both Mongolian and Chinese terms are being discussed, I use the abbreviations M. and C. respectively to indicate the Mongolian and Chinese languages. This book deals with an area of contested space where many locations and geographical features have both Mongolian and Chinese names. As its main theme is the creation of a Chinese version of this space, I have generally used the Chinese names for places and features, except in cases where I am indicating Mongol contestation (e.g.: Beile-yin sume instead of Bailingmiao). In keeping with political convention I use the name "Beijing" to refer to this city in the Qing and pre-1928 Republican period, and "Beiping" to refer to the same city after 1928.

REFERENCING

Sources cited from traditional Chinese *xian zhuang*, or "string bound," texts are numbered according to *juan*, or chapter, and the number of each double leaf or page. I indicate the number of each double page by using the system 1st page, 2nd page, 10th page etc. When citing from reprint editions of these texts I also provide the page number of the modern edition in brackets. In some late Qing and Republican texts, particularly periodicals, page numbers begin anew with each section of the publication. I indicate this by stating the title of the section before

giving the page number (e.g.: *faling* section, p. 5). The following titles for sections of texts are commonly used in the citations: *faling* (laws and orders), *lunye* (essays), *jizai* (notes and accounts), *kaocha shiji* (record of inspection), *mingling* (orders), *minzheng* (civil administration), *shiye* (enterprises), *xunhua* (exhortation), *zawen* (miscellaneous news), *zhunbei shixiang* (preparatory matters) and *zhuci* (congratulatory writing) Except in the case of editorials, all reports cited from the *Suiyuan ribao* appear on page 3 of this newspaper. I have indicated citations from *Suiyuan ribao* editorials by giving the full title; these all appear on page 1 of this newspaper.

PREFACE

The research for this project was conducted with the assistance of a Republic of China Department of Education Scholarship, a Monash University Graduate Scholarship and a Travel Grant from the Monash University Asia Institute. Portions of this research have been presented in seminars and conferences at Monash University, the University of Melbourne, Macquarie University and the University of New South Wales.

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Librarians in Australia and China helped me in many ways. I am indebted to Bick-har Yeung of the East Asian Collection at the Baillieu Library, the University of Melbourne; Denis Kishere of the Asian Research Collection at the Sir Louis Matheson Library, Monash University; Xie Qinfang of the Beijing University Library; and Tuimer (Bai Liaoyuan) and He Yongqin of the Library of Inner Mongolia in Hohhot. This book would have been impossible without Tuimer's annotated bibliographies of pre-1949 Inner Mongolian publications.

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J.T.

INTRODUCTION

CONSTRUCTING SUIYUAN

The geographer Roger Brunet has argued that "the organization of geographical space—and thus of place—by society constitutes its means of representation and development."[1] Other geographers, homing in on the institutionalized power of state formations, see the state as having a fundamental role as a "differentiating agent of the earth's surface."[2] The quest for political integration, argue these geographers, plays a determining influence upon a state's spatial thinking:

> Territorial-administrative areas from the national down to the local area are one part of the complex ecosystem comprising man, society, and environment, and although such areas are not the sole vehicles whereby political integration of states is achieved, they do play an important role in the process.[3]

Administrative geography—the way a state divides space—can also tell us much about conceptions of political community and its modes of inclusion and exclusion. In the case of the Suiyuan area in the twentieth century, different versions of a modernising Chinese state have revised names and rearranged boundaries according to different principles.

On March 6 1954, the province of Suiyuan was formally abolished and its territory made a part of the People's Republic of China's first autonomous region, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR). Later in the same year Guisui, the provincial capital of the former province, officially reverted to its Mongolian name of Hohhot.[4]

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[1] Quoted in Vincent Berdoulay, "Place, Meaning, and Discourse in French Language Geography," in J. Agnew and J. Duncan (eds), *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 129.

[2] Joseph B.R. Whitney, *China: Area Administration, and Nation Building* (Chicago: University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1970), p. 2.

[3] Whitney, *China: Area Administration, and Nation Building*, p. 7.

[4] Hao Weimin (ed.), *Nei Menggu zizhiqu shi* (Huhehaote: University of Inner Mongolia Press, 1991), pp. 132-134. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region or, more accurately, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government, was established in

These changes were part of the Chinese Communist administrative re-ordering of territory and re-writing of place in accordance with its policy of "nationality district autonomy" (*minzu quyu zizhi*).[5] Looking back from the vantage point of post-1949 China and such greatly changed circumstances, the former Suiyuan official, literatus and local historian Rong Xiang provides this description of an earlier remaking of his native place within the new Chinese Republic:

> After the Revolution of 1911, what the Qing had established was gradually changed. First to change was the system of civil administration under Shanxi jurisdiction. In the first year of the Chinese Republic [i.e. 1912] the Guisui Military Circuit yamen became the office of the Guisui Surveillance Commissioner, Guihua Sub-Prefecture became Guisui County, and study halls (*xuetang*) became schools (*xuexiao*). In 1914 the district of [what was formerly] the Guisui Circuit became the Suiyuan Special Administrative Region, and a Military Governor replaced the Suiyuan General as the chief official of the Region. [With this, jurisdiction of the area] passed directly into the hands of the [central government's] Northern Warlord administration... Under the Military Governor two departments of finance and industry, and two bureaus of general affairs and justice were established. Next the old street patrol and Prison Superintendency were abolished and a Police Affairs Bureau set up. Also educational affairs was hived off from the [old] Circuit office and a Regional Student Affairs Bureau was established. All this gradually gave this seat of government of the Special Administrative Region [i.e. Guisui] the embryonic features of a provincial capital.[6]

Rong plots here the essential features of the administrative evolution of the Suiyuan area in the early Republic. In early 1914 an area of roughly 260,000 square kilometres of southwestern Mongolia became the Suiyuan Special Administrative Region (*Suiyuan tebie xingzheng qu*, or SSAR). With the establishment of the SSAR, sections of the area

1947 following a CCP-backed conference at Ulanhot. The actual territorial delimitation of this government's jurisdiction only became clear in 1954.

[5] Hao Weimin argues that the abolition of Suiyuan had been a longstanding item of CCP policy dating from Mao Zedong's call for the abolition of the three provinces of Suiyuan, Rehe, and Chahar in December 1935. See Hao Weimin (ed.) *Nei Menggu zizhiqu shi* pp. 131-132. For the text of Mao's proclamation, see "Zhonggong suwei'ai zhongyang zhengfu dui Menggu renmin xuanyan," in Zhonggong Nei Menggu zizhiqu weiyuanhui tongzhan bu/Nei Menggu zizhiqu dang'anguan (ed.), *Nei Menggu tongzhan shi dang'an shiliao xuanbian* (Internal Circulation Publication, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 97-98.

[6] Rong Xiang, "Huhehaote shi yan'ge jiyao," in Rong Xiang, Rong Genglin, *Tumote yan'ge*, part 1 (Huhehaote: No publisher given, 1981), p. 40. Rong Xiang (1894-1978) was probably the most locally renowned Tumed Mongol of the period. For a detailed biography see Rong Genglin, "Xianfu Rong Xiang xiansheng shengping shilüe," *Huhehaote shiliao* nos. 4 & 5 and also Yang Lingde, *Sai shang yiwang – Yang Lingde huiyi lu*, *Nei Menggu wenshi ziliao*, vol. 30, pp. 221-223.

passed from Shanxi jurisdiction to central government control and there was a growth in modern administrative organs. In 1929 Suiyuan became a fully fledged province.

Some of these changes represented the increased penetration of a modernising central state into the local world as mirrored generally throughout the new Republic. Whether successful or not, this created the framework, institutions, and political culture of the "local Republic" in Suiyuan and other places.[7] Yet Rong was a Mongol and the new administrative unit encompassed areas which had been sharply differentiated from China Proper under the Qing. The SSAR included the territory of the two western Inner Mongolian leagues of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab as well as the Guihua Town Tumed Banner and the co-extensive administrative areas of what, by the end of the Qing, had grown to twelve sub-prefectures administered by Shanxi Province.[8] The creation of the SSAR was an expression of a new way of thinking about the division of territory which emphasised the political integration of border space into a new polity, the Chinese nation-state.

The Nation-State

The concept of the nation-state, a product of European political thought, has been particularly dependent upon the precise delimitation of sovereign national territory and the rigid distinction between national and extra-national spaces. Outside the state is the domain of other nation-states. Space here is occupied by an international society of similar, and theoretically equal, sovereign territorial units. Internally "state sovereignty is fully, flatly and evenly operative over each square centimetre of a legally demarcated territory."[9] This has not always been the case, as one theorist reminds us, "once upon a time the world was not as it is. The patterns of inclusion and exclusion we now take for granted are historical innovations. The principle of state sovereignty is the classic expression of these patterns."[10] Similarly, Morris-Suzuki in

[7] Chauncey uses the concept of the local Republic profitably in her examination of Republican local educational circles in central and northern Jiangsu. See Helen R. Chauncey, *Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1992).

[8] Strictly speaking, as is discussed in Chapter One, the Guihua Town Tumed Banner was actually two banners which fell under one administration.

[9] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 19.

[10] R.B.J. Walker, "State Sovereignty and the Articulation of Political Space/Time,"

her examination of the creation of a Japanese nation-state points out:

> From several thousand years ago until very recent times, a wide variety of socio-political structures existed side by side. These ranged from empires, through state-organised societies of various shapes and forms, to small societies which operated without elaborate political structures.... It is only in the past fifty years since the breakup of the European empires that the nation state has emerged as the universal and uniform vessel for the management of human affairs.[11]

The Qing empire made rigid distinctions between different territories and peoples within the imperial realm. Qing imperial space could be described as heterogeneous rather than homogenous, and imperial legitimacy derived from a variety of divine and semi-divine sources—not from the various peoples under Qing rule, who were subjects rather than citizens.[12] The contrast with the idea of a nation-state is stark.

In the late Qing and early Republican periods Chinese officials, soldiers, intellectuals, and students grappled with the problem of remaking the Qing empire in the form of a modern nation-state. In early modern Europe the process of "state making"—the rationalisation, bureaucratisation, and increased penetration and control of local society by central states—occurred separately and prior to that of "nation building" or "the creation of an identification of the citizen with the nation-state."[13] As Duara contends, however, state making and nation building occurred at the same time and were interlinked in China. "State making [in China] was proclaimed within the framework of nationalism and related ideas of modernisation."[14] The task was multi-faceted and involved not only the expansion of the purview of the state but also the moulding or creation anew of everything from personal habits of bodily discipline to language, education, and principles of governance.[15] This book argues that the remaking of

Millennium: Journal of International Studies, vol. 20, no. 3, (1991) p. 460.

[11] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," in Stein Tonnesson and Hans Antlöv (eds), *Asian Forms of the Nation* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1996), p. 43.

[12] This is a modified paraphrase of Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 19. See Chapter One for a discussion of the various sources of Qing imperial legitimacy.

[13] This argument about state making in Europe is Tilly's. See the Introduction to Charles Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* as summarised in Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 2.

[14] Duara, *Culture, Power and the State*, p. 2.

[15] On some of these aspects see John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), particularly chapters 3 and 4, pp. 103-179.

administrative geography in line with changing conceptions of territory and political community was another important aspect of the creation of a Chinese nation-state.

One major indicator of the spatial aspects of this project was the growth in the number of China's provinces from the eighteen of the classic Qing order to 29 during the Nanjing decade. In less than fifty years, from the early 1880s to 1929, eleven new provinces appeared in frontier areas that an earlier Qing order had kept outside the system of provincial administration. Five of these were added in the late Qing period: Xinjiang and Taiwan in the 1880s, and in 1907, the three provinces of the northeast (Heilongjiang, Jilin and what eventually became known as Liaoning), all gained provincial administrations.[16] In 1914 the new Chinese Republican government established four Special Administrative Regions (*tebie xingzheng qu*) in frontier areas. Three of these were in Inner Mongolia: Suiyuan, Chahar and Rehe. The fourth initially known as Chuanbian and later as Xikang, occupied the eastern Kham section of Tibet bordering on Sichuan. All four Regions gained provincial status in 1929. At the same time Ningxia and Qinghai also became provinces.

Obviously it takes more than a redrawing of boundaries and the imposition of provincial administration to bring about the re-making of imperial space as national space. How was this frontier territory made a part of the new Chinese nation-state? The answer lies equally in the various decisions made by local and national politicians, administrators, soldiers and elites about physical building and development of these newly plotted units of frontier space, and also in the ways in which these areas were imagined and represented as places within the Republic. Through both of these processes Suiyuan was constructed.

[16] The three northeastern provinces were often referred to as "provinces," most commonly the "three eastern provinces" (*dong san sheng*), before 1907. The main effect of the 1907 reforms was the move from military governorships to civil governorships in these jurisdictions. Some differences with provincial administrations in China Proper also persisted. See Bai Gang (ed.), *Zhongguo zhengzhi zhidu tong shi*, 10 vols (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1996), vol. 10, Qing dynasty, pp. 310-313, for a summary of the changes.

CONSTRUCTION

This book uses the notion of construction in two senses. First, Construction or *jianshe* (often translated as Reconstruction) was a key term in Chinese Republican nationalist discourse which centred upon the physical building of the infrastructure of the new nation-state. As Kuhn points in his examination of the rural reconstruction movement during the Republican period, *jianshe* could be "considered a modernised extension of the old 'public works' rubric in traditional Chinese government."[17] Various rural reconstruction programs conducted by reformers such as Liang Shuming in the 1920s and 1930s extended to encompass rural mass education and the introduction of communal institutions and other administrative innovations at the local level.[18] Most famously, however, this idea of Construction was enshrined in the *Principles of National Construction* (*jianguo da gang*) drafted by Sun Yat-sen in 1924 and elevated to the guiding principle for the Chinese nation in the 1930s. Sun went beyond the purely material and used the term to apply to "psychological construction" (*xinli jianshe*) and "social construction" (*shehui jianshe*) in the new nation.[19] Construction in Republican China covered the gamut of state and nation building efforts including the development of infrastructure and agriculture, as well as the fostering of education and the spiritual resources of the new nation. How was Suiyuan constructed in this sense? This book examines the multiple facets of Suiyuan's administrative creation and elaboration, and its developmental program.

The second meaning of construction employed in this study is the more abstract idea of the creation and elaboration of Suiyuan via representational means. Such an approach emphasises the artificial or "constructed" nature of social reality and points to the imaginative capacities of local elites and officials to imbue Suiyuan with a meaning. How was Suiyuan "constructed" in this sense? As well as building Suiyuan's physical infrastructure, Suiyuan's many creators had to find a place for Suiyuan within Chinese nationalist discourse. The

[17] Philip Kuhn, "The Development of Local Government," in John King Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker (eds), *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949, Part 2 (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 353.

[18] Kuhn, "The Development of Local Government," p. 353. On Liang Shuming's work in rural reconstruction see Guy S. Alitto, *The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity*, second edition (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 155-176, 192-278.

[19] Sun Zhongshan, "Jianguo dagang," in *Guofu quanji*, 6 vols. (Taibei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 751-753.

development and rapid elaboration of Chinese nationalist discourse on the nation's Northwest in the 1930s greatly aided in the construction of a durable meaning for Suiyuan. Suiyuan was thus a project of both physical development and nationalist imagining. These two processes of construction were intertwined and fed off one another. It is my argument that the two were really part of the same process—the hardware and the software of what constituted Suiyuan in the Republic.

SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

This book is based upon a wide reading of what remains of the vanished entity of Suiyuan in libraries and archives. This includes both texts and such as things as maps, collections of statistics, and other "visualising devices."[20] The texts break into several groups. Government documents were an important part of what constituted Suiyuan, and this study makes use of the files and publications of the Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation for the period from 1915 to the mid-1930s. More generally, the book uses various Suiyuan government periodicals on Construction and educational development and Suiyuan government-sponsored gazetteers including the mammoth *Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer of Suiyuan* (which remains, except for the first eight *juan* or chapters, unpublished and in manuscript form in the Library of Inner Mongolia in Hohhot). This study also draws upon the modest achievements of local journalism for the period including the handful of literary periodicals and journals of social critique and opinion produced in Guisui in the late 1920s and 1930s such as the *Fiery Pit Weekly* and also the important body of Suiyuan student writing contained in such journals as the *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Association Study Journal* (1929-1937) and the agricultural science journal, *Winter Garden*. Unfortunately none of Suiyuan's newspapers from before 1929 survive. For the period from mid-1932 to late 1937 the book uses the official mouthpiece of the Suiyuan provincial government and local *Guomindang* Party branch, the *Suiyuan Daily*. A final important group of sources for Suiyuan in this period is the large array of magazines dedicated to advocating the cause of Northwestern

[20] The idea of maps, statistics and surveys as "visualising devices" or "governmental technologies of power" which render territory and populations visible to the state is canvassed in Jouni Häkli, "Discourse and the Production of Political Space: Decolonising the Symbolism of Provinces in Finland," *Political Geography*, vol. 17, no. 3, (1998) p. 334.

development. This type of publication became legion in China particularly after the loss of Manchuria in late 1931, and remains a valuable source of information and opinion on Suiyuan for the period. In Chapter One and in sections of other chapters the book uses gazetteers, memorials from Qing officials, and other documents of the Qing period.

Given the nature of the sources and the central object of this study—the making of a modern Chinese province in Inner Mongolia—the book cannot, and does not intend to, represent fully the Inner Mongol counter-discourse on political geography and detailed developments in Inner Mongol politics during the period. At times, in order to contextualise and explain aspects of Suiyuan's development, I have used secondary sources to venture into such questions, however I have not directly consulted Mongolian language sources. This is an important limitation. Although some of the Chinese language sources used in this study provide tantalising glimpses, a systematic exploration of Mongol discourse on an alternative geographical order to Suiyuan remains an important research task.[21] A complimentary study which provides added perspectives is Atwood's *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931*, a detailed and exhaustive account of Inner Mongol experiments at nation and state making during roughly the same period as is covered by this book.[22]

Overview of Chapters

Chapter One investigates the Qing imperial order in southwestern Mongolia before its remaking. This chapter examines Qing notions of imperial universalism and administration, the administratively differentiated notion of Mongolia under the Qing, and the several parallel systems of administrative geography that existed in the area which was to become Suiyuan.

The following three chapters investigate the most important features of the creation or construction of the SSAR and Suiyuan Province. Chapter Two begins by tracing the administrative and territorial

[21] Approaches to this may be found in Robert James Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959).

[22] Christopher P. Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 2002).

elaboration of Suiyuan. It argues that the basis of Suiyuan's development was the growth in the number of Chinese local administrative units which began in the late Qing and continued into the Republic. The second part of this chapter examines two influences which functioned to place and give meaning to, and to shape and limit the possibilities of, Suiyuan as a territory within the Republic—the domination of Shanxi province under Yan Xishan, and the elaboration of Chinese nationalist geographical and developmental discourse on the Northwest. Chapter Three considers in detail the central developmental activity in Suiyuan, the land reclamation enterprise. In the eyes of many of Suiyuan's proponents land reclamation created the preconditions for Suiyuan's development in other areas. The chapter first examines the process of land reclamation in Suiyuan—how it was understood, and how it contributed to Suiyuan's substance. The later part of Chapter Three moves to a consideration of discourse on agricultural development and its alternative, pastoralism, in the context of Suiyuan. Chapter Four begins by examining the most commonly-cited attribute of Suiyuan in the Republican period—its abject backwardness—and its link with Chinese nationalist discourse on Northwestern development. The modernising response to this state of affairs was education, and the second part of the chapter looks at the educational enterprise in Suiyuan and assesses its contributions to the area's consolidation.

Suiyuan had been constructed over the top of pre-existing Mongol administrative space. The final two chapters concentrate upon the unresolved tensions and challenges posed by Mongol space for Suiyuan's builders. Chapter Five begins with an analysis of early Republican policy towards Inner Mongolia and its application in the context of Suiyuan. The chapter then moves on to investigate Suiyuan's shadowy relationship with Mongols and Mongol territory in the pre-1928 period and considers four aspects of the question: the explanation of local geography in the first gazetteer of the SSAR, the *Records of Suiyuan*; Suiyuan's administrative dealings with Mongol space; the position of Tumed Banner vis-à-vis Suiyuan authorities; and finally, Suiyuan governmental involvement with Mongol education during this period. The last chapter, Chapter Six, examines the challenge of Mongol space in the Nanjing decade. It discusses the growth of a strong Inner Mongolian autonomy movement based within Suiyuan's territorial boundaries at the important temple complex of Beile-yin sume, the re-emergence of an assertively Mongol nationalist ordering of Suiyuan's territory, and Suiyuan governmental strategies at

subverting and incorporating this challenge. The book concludes with an epilogue which examines the fate of Suiyuan after 1937 and briefly discusses continuing themes.

CHAPTER ONE

BEFORE SUIYUAN: QING ORDER BEYOND THE PASS

HOHHOT/GUIHUA/SUIYUAN/GUISUI

Hohhot, the capital of China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, lies some 400 kilometres northwest of Beijing.[1] Easily accessible by rail, road, and air, Hohhot bears many of the hallmarks of any modern-day provincial city in China. Large sections of the city are filled with the ubiquitous apartment blocks and compounds of the modern Chinese work unit. At the same time street signs in Mongolian script and Mongol "minority nationality"-style architectural touches to some public buildings emphasise the city's significance as the capital of the People's Republic of China's first autonomous region, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR).[2] Yet Hohhot is older than this. A careful observer will note the legacy of Qing imperial order in the different spatial components to the modern city's layout. In the southwest lies the "old city" of winding lanes, Mongolian style Lamaistic Buddhist temples, and traditional northern Chinese earthen-walled courtyard housing. This was the original Mongol settlement of Hohhot, known in Chinese during the Qing period and for much of the Republican period as Guihua. In contrast, at the centre of the northwest section of the city one finds a grid-like pattern of streets centering upon a moderately-sized traditional *yamen* complex. This area during the Qing was the location of the "new city"—the Manchu Eight Banner garrison of Suiyuan Town where the *yamen*

[1] The name of the city has been variously rendered as Köke-Khota, Koke-Khota, Köke qota, Höhhot, Hohehot etc. Here I will use the familiar version of the name found in a range of PRC government and western scholarly sources. See for example Inner Mongolia Association of Foreign Cultural Exchange (ed.), *China's Inner Mongolia* (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1987), passim; and Sechin Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince: The Life and Times of Demchugdongrob, 1902-1966* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1999), passim.

[2] Hohhot officially became the capital of the IMAR in 1954. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government was founded at Wangyemiao in Eastern Inner Mongolia in April 1947. See Hao Weimin, *Nei Menggu zizhiqu shi* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1991), pp. 3, 134.

served as the residence and offices of the general in command of the garrison.[3] The land lying between the old and new cities remained undeveloped during the Qing. The important modern acquisitions of Hohhot are mostly located here: the city's railway station, offices of city and regional government, main hospital, central post and telecommunications building, and city square.[4] This district was first intensively developed in the early Republic as the twin cities of the old Qing order, now without their separate imperial functions, merged to form the urban conglomeration of Guisui (the name formed by combining the first characters of Guihua and Suiyuan).

Hohhot, or "Blue City" in Mongolian, came into existence as a permanent settlement in the 1570s under the patronage of Altan Khan (1508-1582), the leader of the then formidable Tumed Mongols.[5] Permanent Mongol settlements of the size of Hohhot were rare in a largely nomadic culture. Indeed as one historian points out, Hohhot "was the first city built by the Mongols after the decline of the Mongolian empire and the collapse of the Yuan dynasty" in 1368.[6] Hohhot and its surrounding plain, however, was an important base for Altan Khan's raids into Ming China to the south, and the Khan was an important patron of Lamaistic Buddhism. The building of the settlement reflected these pre-occupations—the new town became a religious centre as well as an important military staging post. It also acquired commercial importance for trade between north China and Mongolia. Hohhot's mixture of inhabitants—Mongolian lamas and soldiers and Han artisans and traders reflected these different functions as well as the city's positioning in a natural transitional zone between the peasant-based agricultural economy of the northern

[3] For clarity, unless it is obvious, I will follow Qing practice and refer to the garrison as Suiyuan Town. This also serves to distinguish clearly between the Qing garrison of Suiyuan and the special administrative region/province of Suiyuan in the Republican period.

[4] For an analysis of Hohhot as a specifically frontier urban form see Piper Rae Gaubatz, *Beyond the Great Wall: Urban Form and Transformation on the Chinese Frontiers* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), passim.

[5] On Altan Khan and the Tumed Mongols during the Ming dynasty see Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 245-246.

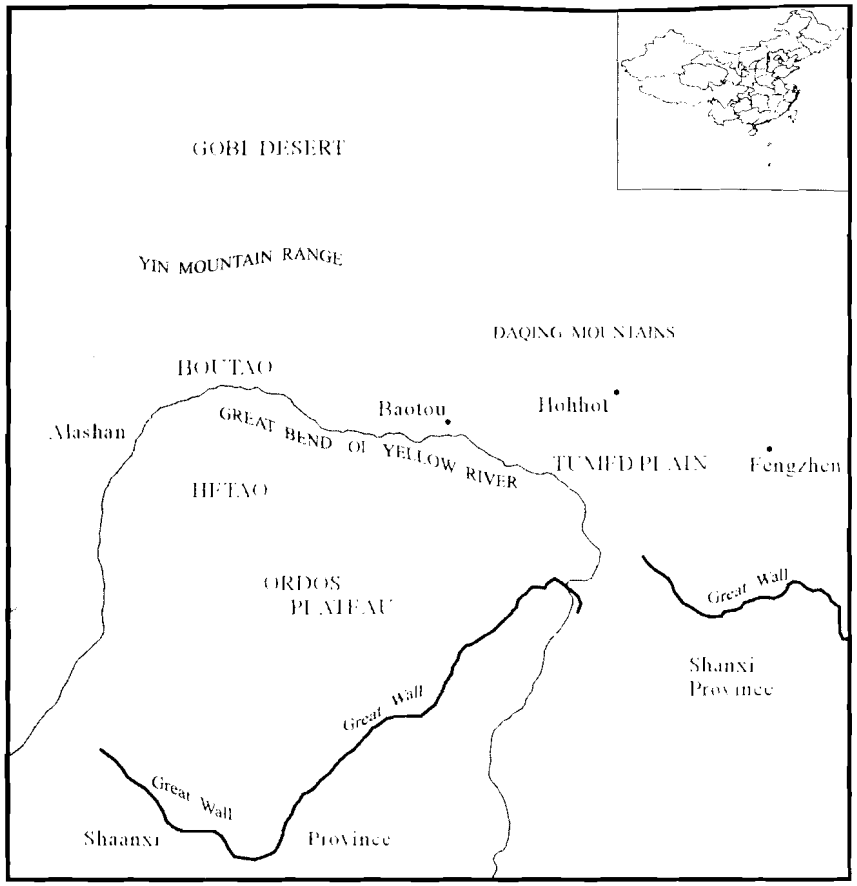
[6] Paul Hyer, "An Historical Sketch of Koke-khota City, Capital of Inner Mongolia" *Central Asiatic Journal* vol. 26 (1982), p. 61. See also the work of contemporary local historians in particular: Rong Xiang and Rong Genglin, "Huhehaote shi yange," *Tumote yange* 2 vols. (Huhehaote: 1981), vol 1, pp. 41-53; Jin Qizong and Tong Jingren, "Hehehaote de xingjian he fazhan," *Huhehaote shiliao* (hereafter abbreviated as *HSL*) vol 1, pp. 207-222.

Chinese province of Shanxi and the nomadic pastoral economy of the Mongolian grasslands.

In recognition of Altan Khan's power and in an atmosphere of appeasement, the Ming court bestowed upon Altan the title "Obedient and Righteous Prince" (*shun yi wang*) and gave his settlement the Chinese name of "Guihua"—literally "Return (or yielding) to Civilization." This new name was a typical example of Chinese imperial frontier nomenclature and remained after the settlement surrendered to Jurchen (i.e. Manchu) forces in 1632. Although an imperially sanctioned Chinese transliteration existed for Hohhot during the Qing dynasty, official documents in Chinese favoured the usage of Guihua, and the Mongolian name became submerged.[7] In the new empire Guihua retained its religious significance as a centre of Lamaistic Buddhism and became an important administrative and military post as a new Qing administrative geography, the system of Mongolian banners and leagues and later, Chinese sub-prefectures, formalized around it. The town also served as an important staging post for the Kangxi emperor's successful campaign north of the Gobi against the Zunghars led by Galdan in 1696. The construction of the garrison of Suiyuan Town (*Suiyuan cheng*) in the mid 1730s, two kilometres to Guihua's northwest, underscored the importance of the location for Qing strategists. The Court then shifted troops from Northern Shanxi to settle the new garrison and placed them under the charge of the Suiyuan Town General (*Suiyuan cheng jiangjun*).[8]

[7] Of course Mongolian-language documents retained the Mongol name of Hohhot. The Qing Chinese transliteration for Hohhot was Kukuhetun. See Gao Geng'en (comp.), *Tumote qi zhi* (Suiyuan: 1908. Reprint edition, Taibei: Chengwen, 1968), 1st juan, part 2, 3rd page. The name of the town has been contested in the 20th century. The present official PRC name is Hohhot transliterated in Chinese as Huhehaote. Under the Mongolian Border Government of De Wang of the late 1930s and early 1940s, the name of Guisui was replaced by the original Mongolian name transliterated as Houhehaote. For a discussion of the naming history of the city see Uradyn E. Bulag, "From Yeke-juu league to Ordos municipality: settler colonialism and alter/native urbanization in Inner Mongolia," *Provincial China*, vol. 7, no. 2 (October 2002), pp. 204-205. Because the main theme of this book is the construction of Suiyuan, in discussions of the city in the period from 1911 to 1937, I will use the official Chinese other Chinese administrative units through successive dynasties see Wei Gaoshan (ed.), Republican name for the city, Guisui. Guihua has been used in the names of many *Zhongguo lishi dimingdacidian* (Guangzhou, Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe 1993), pp. 274-275.

[8] Manchu General, Tartar General, and Governor-General are all alternative translations for this position. I have followed Hucker. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985), p 140.



Map 1: The Area Surrounding the Twin Towns

The Suiyuan Town General oversaw Qing frontier order in an area stretching from Alashan in the west to the Chahar region in the east and as far north as the fringes of the Gobi desert (see Map 1). The bulk of this area was to become the Suiyuan Special Administrative Region (*Suiyuan tebie xingzheng qu*, SSAR) in 1914 under the Chinese Republic. After the victory of the *Guomindang* or Nationalist Party (GMD) and the movement of the national government to Nanjing, the Special Region gained in administrative stature in late 1928 to become one of the twenty nine constituent provinces of the Republic of China, with Guisui as its provincial capital.[9] Events and policy changes at the end of the Qing led to this rearrangement of administrative space in the early Republic. The creation of the new administrative territory will be examined in the next chapter. This chapter examines the area around Guihua and Suiyuan towns as it was understood as part of the geography and administration of the Qing empire. In contrast to the uniform and integrated territorial outlook of the modern nation-state, Qing rulers conceived of the area differentially as part of separate systems of administration. Qing imperial understandings of frontier territory had profound implications for the creators of a modern Chinese territorial state in the Republic.

[9] Five other new provinces were created at around this time: Rehe, Chahar, Xikang, Ningxia and Qinghai.

Beyond the Twin Towns

Two geographical features dominated and shaped the natural and human geography of what would become the SSAR: the Great Bend of the Yellow River and the Daqing mountains of the Yin mountain range. These served as natural boundaries which delineated three distinct physiographic regions.

The Daqing chain of mountains ran east and west to demarcate the northern boundary of a plain oriented around Guihua and Suiyuan towns. This area, known today as the Tumed plain, made up the central, most populated section of the area.[10] The Tumed plain is a triangular-shaped expanse roughly 900 metres above sea level. In the east the plain terminates where the terrain suddenly rises by several hundred metres west of the town of Fengzhen. In the extreme west the plain runs a little beyond the settlement of Baotou. Here the mountains and river almost converge to form a rough western point of the triangle. The southeastern boundaries of the Tumed plain are formed by mountains and accentuated by the Shanxi section of the Great Wall.The return bend of the Yellow River as it flows southwards towards Shanxi delineates the southwestern boundary of the plain. On the Tumed plain, irrigated in part by the Yellow River and its upper tributaries, both agriculture and pastoralism were possible. Buck, in

[10] Various names have been used for the plain. I follow present-day practice in the PRC, but also Van Oost. See Le P. Joseph Van Oost, *Notes sur le T'oemet* (Variétiés Sinologiques no. 53, Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1922), p. 1. Other versions are "Salachi-Kweihua plain" or "Salachi plain;" see John Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (1937; Reprint, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1964), pp. 48-49; and "Kweisui plain." See Yin-T'ang Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia (Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningsia)* (Shanghai: 1933, Reprint: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1971), p. 23.

his study of agriculture in China in the 1930s, included the plain within the Spring Wheat area: the northernmost and harshest of the eight agricultural regions into which he divided China, characterised by relatively low precipitation, cold temperatures, short growing season and high frequency of crop failure.[11] Van Oost, a Belgian missionary who wrote of the plain and its inhabitants in the 1920s, saw it as: "sad and monotonous. It is, for at least seven months of the year a huge gray expanse over which the wind sweeps swarms of dust." In the Spring "the west wind especially rages, and the air is continually saturated with sand and dust."[12] In relative terms however, the area could be termed fertile. Indeed in the eyes of an agricultural survey of the early Republican period it was "the richest agricultural district in the [Chinese] Northwest."[13] A chain of agricultural settlements developed during the Qing period and stretched across the plain from Guihua to Baotou; it was here also that caravan routes from Xinjiang and Outer Mongolia converged.

To the south-west of Guihua and Suiyuan towns, the return section of the "Great Bend" of the Yellow River formed the boundary between the Tumed plain and the area's second major segment, the Ordos plateau. The Great Bend of the Yellow River delimits the Ordos plateau on three sides. The plateau slopes gently from a higher elevation in the north to its southern boundary which is contiguous with the Shaanxi and Ningxia sections of the Great Wall and the beginning of a great loess plateau highly dissected by the deep ravines of northwest China.[14] Although large sections of the plateau are dry and sandy steppe or desert, the geographer Y.T. Chang, writing in the 1930s, found enough variety in its geography to divide the Ordos into a series of sub-areas. In the eastern section several tributaries of the Yellow River gave fertility and lushness to well-irrigated grasslands. The majority of the Ordos region's population lived here. By contrast, Chang found the west Ordos to be higher and dryer and generally less suitable for pastoralism and agriculture. Here the topography ranged from sandy desert and scrub in the north to more fertile areas capable of supporting the grazing of livestock east of the low mountain ranges

[11] Buck, *Land Utilization in China*, pp. 47-55.
[12] Van Oost, *Notes*, pp. 5-7.
[13] Zhang Yanan, *Diaocha Suiyuan tebie quyu nongye xumu baogao* (No publisher, 1919), p. 2.
[14] Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, p. 30. Ningxia province is a Republican creation. During the Qing Ningxia was a prefecture (*fu*) of Gansu province.

of the southwestern Ordos.[15] In the late Qing and into the Republican period irrigation channels were dug in land adjacent to the Yellow River in southern sections of this area.[16]

From the Chinese perspective the term *Hetao* (literally: "river hook") was most often used to refer to the northern sections of this Ordos plateau, in particular those areas fronting onto the Yellow River.[17] West from "the Hook" are the mountains and desert of the Alashan region. On the northern banks of the Yellow River as it runs west to east at the northern extremity of the Hook, between the River and the Yin mountain range, is a narrow plain stretching from Baotou some 400 kilometres westwards to the northwestern bend of the River's course. This plain has been made particularly fertile by deposits of alluvial soil left by the periodic changes of the river bed. This area came to be termed the *Houtao* literally "behind the Hook," and became an important agricultural area as irrigation channels were progressively dug in the late Qing.

The section of the Daqing mountains which dominated the northern prospect of the twin towns rises to crests varying between 1500 and 2000 metres. On both the northern and southern slopes of the mountains rainfall levels are higher than on the Tumed plain, but the increased elevation quickly shortens the agricultural growing season.[18] Beyond these mountains lay the third distinct physical region: the Mongolian steppes. Here it is higher and it rapidly becomes too cold and dry for agriculture. Pastoralism dominated in this region during the Qing. Y.T. Chang termed this area the "Ulanchap" Prairie, and described it as a dry, sometimes stony, expanse of low ranges and scarce grass interspersed with patches of more fertile pasture suited to feed livestock.[19] The *Suiyuan Draft Gazetteer* compiled in the mid 1930s refers to the area vaguely as "beyond the mountains" and notes its extreme range in temperature, the frequency of hail storms in

[15] Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, pp. 29-30.
[16] See "Etuoke fuyuan diaochaji," in *Suiyuan jianshe jikan*, no. 1 (March 1929), *diaocha* section, pp. 13-32.
[17] The designation "Hetao" could also be used for the whole of the Ordos plateau. See Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, p. 31; also Zhang Pengyi, *Hetao tu zhi* (Shan cao tang, 1922), 1st juan.
[18] Office of International Affairs, National Research Council (ed.), *Grasslands and Grassland Sciences in Northern China: A Report of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1992), p. 20.
[19] Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, pp. 38-39.

summer, and the early arrival of frosts.[20] The northern limits of this steppe run into the southern fringes of the Gobi desert. Through this region ran the main routes to sections of Mongolia north of the Gobi. During the Qing and into the Republican period this area remained the most sparsely populated of the three regions.

In terms of human geography, climate, and physiography the twin towns stood in a frontier zone. The three regions encompassed a transitional zone between two worlds: the Inner Asian world of the sparsely-populated cold steppe or grasslands, the basis of northern nomadic pastoralism, and the settled agricultural and relatively densely-populated districts of northern China. Historically also, the Tumed plain and the Ordos plateau were important links in this interface between Inner Asia and China Proper (for an explanation of the term China Proper see below). In Lattimore's words, the Tumed plain functioned "as a kind of tidal reach, into which have flowed alternately Chinese from the south and nomadic people from the north, of whom the Mongols were the latest."[21] Its use by Altan Khan as a base from which to threaten northern China in the late Ming period has already been noted. Likewise, the Ordos plateau was an extension of Inner Asian steppe south of the course of the Yellow River into the heartland of Northwest China, and gained great strategic value through history not only as a base for military powers of the Inner Asian steppe to threaten China, but also for assertive Chinese imperial powers to influence Inner Asia.[22] How did the Qing imperial administrators view this important section of Inner Asian frontier?

The Frontier

In the early summer of 1890 the incumbent Suiyuan Town General, the Han Martial bannerman Ke Meng'e, supervised the setting of a stone plaque in the screening wall facing the entrance to his *yamen* at the centre of the Suiyuan garrison. The four characters inscribed on the plaque "*ping fan shuo mo*"—"Protector of the Northern

[20] Suiyuan tong zhi guan (ed.), *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, vol. 1, juan 1-8 (1936, Internal circulation publication, 1971). (Hereafter referred to as *STZG* 1971) 8[th] juan p. 14.

[21] Owen Lattimore, "A Ruined Nestorian City in Inner Mongolia," in *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers 1928-1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 224.

[22] Arthur Waldron, *The Great Wall of China From History to Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 61-62.

Expanses"—proclaimed in language heavily redolent of the Chinese imperial frontier the General and his garrison's charge.[23] The term "*fan*" bore the weight of successive Chinese dynasties' understandings of Inner Asian frontier lands. In its primary sense *fan* means a fence, a buffer, or protection. However, by extension, the word came to name the terms of the subordinate political bond between people of these areas and imperial authority (see below for a fuller discussion). Combined with ping—a screen, or screening—the resulting combination, *ping fan*, could be understood as a well-worn metaphor for a powerful imperial official stationed in the empire's border region.[24] Suiyuan Town was one of a series of military settlements located in the Inner Asian sections of the empire, to all of which this inscription could have equally applied. The word *shuo*, an archaic directional signifier for the north, had been used in the names of administrative units and peoples going back as far as the western Han dynasty, and was naturally paired with *mo*—desert or expanse of wasteland.[25] From the Chinese perspective, *shuomo* brought to mind a region of vast open spaces, of sparse and shifting populations of nomadic peoples characteristic of the empire's frontier *par excellence*, the Inner Asian frontier.

The inscription immediately located the garrison and its purpose within a familiar field of traditional imperial frontier statecraft and understandings of territory dating back to the ancient Inner Asian steppe tribal confederation, the Xiongnu, of the third and second centuries BCE.[26] It also functioned to place Suiyuan Town and its surrounding area as a part of the historical-geographic landscape of the northern frontier, an elemental horizon of threat beyond which northern nomadic power would periodically coalesce to such a degree as to challenge the Chinese state to the south. Yet long before the chiseling of this inscription, Qing order had fundamentally re-made this frontier.[27]

[23] The plaque and screening wall are still preserved in their original position, now directly under a short section of freeway in modern-day Hohhot.

[24] See for example, Lin Yutang (ed.), *Lin Yutang's Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1972), p. 782.

[25] *Cihai* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1989), p. 1709.

[26] Joseph Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 46 1986, p. 21.

[27] Millward following on from Fletcher makes this point about the Qing frontier. See James Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia 1759-1864* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 4; and Joseph Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia *c.*1800" in John King Fairbank (ed.), *Cambridge History of China* vol. 10 part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

First, although the garrison lay a few hundred *li* beyond the Great Wall, the outer edges of Qing imperial territory lay several thousands of *li* further north of the area patrolled by the Suiyuan Town General and his troops, beyond the Gobi desert and what the Qing termed Outer Mongolia. A late Qing writer describing the significance of Suiyuan's twin town of Guihua emphasised its strategically central location within the empire. Not only was it "the key to the [imperial] capital, [and] the cloak and girdle of Shanxi's capital" it was also "the protective screen to Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues [in Inner Mongolia and] the door to the towns of Kunlun, Kobdo, and Uliasutai [in Outer Mongolia]."[28] Outside of Guihua and Suiyuan well-worn roads from Shanxi and the imperial capital of Beijing converged with the main routes to Outer Mongolia and Xinjiang.[29] The twin towns lay at a pivotal point between the Chinese and Inner Asian sections of the empire. Second, Mongols of the area had long before been divided into a complex series of administrative units regulated by a central bureaucracy. Finally, Han settlers had lived in the area surrounding the garrison and further afield for generations. Indeed the Han population of the Tumed plain had been administratively incorporated under Shanxi's provincial administration from soon after Suiyuan Town's construction. From the mid eighteenth century on, Guihua and Suiyuan towns stood at the centre of an ever increasing number of sub-prefectures that made up the Guisui Military Circuit under provincial Shanxi control. By the nineteenth century five different administrative offices were located in Guihua and Suiyuan.[30] Clearly, Qing understanding and ordering of these "Northern expanses" needs examination. In particular, how was the area that would become the SSAR ordered and understood as a section of Qing imperial territory?

1978), p. 48. The *Cambridge History of China* will hereafter be abbreviated as *CHC*.

[28] *Tumote qi zhi*, 4th juan, 1st page. Kulun (Urga), Kobdo, and Uliasutai were the three important Qing administrative bases in Mongolia north of the Gobi desert or Outer Mongolia.

[29] Gao Geng'an (comp.), *Suiyuan zhi* (Suiyuan: 1908), 2nd juan, 11th page.

[30] In Guihua: the Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief (*fu dutong*), Guisui Circuit Intendent (*daotai*), and the Guihua Town Sub-Prefect (*tong zhi*); in Suiyuan: the Suiyuan General and the Suiyuan Town Sub-Prefect.

THE QING EMPIRE

The geographical components of the Qing empire were gradually consolidated over a period of a century and a half after the enthronement of the first Qing emperor in Beijing in 1644.[31] Qing territorial space took its most expansive final form only with the Qianlong emperor's conquest of Xinjiang, completed in 1755. At the end of the eighteenth century the Qing empire encompassed an area twice the size of Ming China and included China Proper (i.e. the territory south of the Great Wall comprising the provinces of Ming China), Xinjiang and Mongolia north and south of the Gobi desert, as well as Manchuria, Taiwan, and (however briefly) Tibet.[32] The court handled this expansion in a range of fashions without any one model of incorporation and administration. Differentiation and heterogeneity came to be the keys to the division of space within the empire.

Qing Universalism

As a conquest dynasty, Qing political culture and institutions derived as much from the traditions of Inner Asia as they did from traditional Confucian political theory. The Qing, of course, adapted Ming institutions and sought legitimacy in Confucian political orthodoxy and institutions as part of their appeal to former Ming Chinese elites. China Proper, however, despite its preponderance in population, was only one part of the empire.[33] The imperial universalism expressed by Qing emperors rested upon both the encompassing and the preservation of the diverse ethnic and cultural markers of subjects. Such a "universal realm had no external boundaries but was internally

[31] On this see Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1997), pp. 79-95.

[32] See Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia *c.*1800," for a detailed account of all of these regions (excluding Taiwan). On the incorporation of Taiwan see John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[33] Population estimates for the Inner Asian component of the Qing are extremely sketchy. During a period when China Proper's population rose from 275 million in the late eighteenth century to 430 million in 1850, Fletcher estimates that the total Mongolian-speaking population of the empire "(not counting bannermen) could have been as high as 3,500,000 persons" and in decline. See Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia *c.* 1800," p. 48. The figures for China Proper come from Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 64.

marked by distinctions of history, culture and status."[34] The Mongolian institution of the great Khan was the model for such rulership. The Inner Asian world was perceived as having "a multitude of lords over which Manchu emperors sought to position themselves."[35] It was to this supreme lord that individual lords of the steppe swore their allegiance. The emphasis upon the preservation of differences distinguished Qing universalism from orthodox Chinese notions of universalism. Instead of the Confucian notion of *lai hua* in imperial incorporation (literally "to come and be transformed or civilized"), the Qing order was premised upon its diverse subjects submitting themselves to the empire with cultural markers attached and preserving these after absorption.[36] This was part of Manchu ruling strategy: the use of native institutions and ideologies for political control.

As a result Qing rulership explicitly appealed to multiple sources of legitimacy. Besides the familiar Confucian title of *tianzi* or "Son-of-Heaven" the Qianlong emperor (1736-95) was portrayed as a *cakravatin* (in Chinese *zhuanlun* or "wheel-turning") King, an incarnate bodhisattva, successor to Chinggis Khan and the Jin and Yuan dynasties, head of the Manchu Aisin Gioro clan and overlord of Mongolia, Xinjiang, Qinghai and Tibet. Such universalism reached its fullest formal expression under this emperor.[37] In 1754 the emperor instructed that the inscriptions at the imperial summer resort in Rehe were to appear in the five languages of Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Chinese. Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese remained the three official bureaucratic languages of the Qing until its very end.[38] This is not, however, to argue that the Qing celebrated cultural diversity as a value *per se*. Smaller non-state and tribal societies on the southern frontiers of China Proper were not accorded the same

[34] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," in B.A. Elman and A. Woodside (eds), *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 340. On the institution of the Khan see Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," pp. 21-24.

[35] James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men From Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 30.

[36] Pamela K. Crossley, "Thinking About Ethnicity in Early Modern China," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 11, no.1 (June 1990), p. 24.

[37] Pamela K. Crossley, "The Rulerships of China," Review Article, *American Historical Review* 97, no. 5 (1997), p. 1482; Hevia, *Cherishing Men From Afar*, p. 30.

[38] Zhang Yuxin, *Qingdai qianqi xibu bianzheng shilun* (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p. 3.

privileges and indeed at times were subject to forced assimilation.[39] The key to differentiation within Qing order lay with strategic and security considerations, alliance and function and was centred on what were regarded as "the historic peoples" of Inner Asia. The result over time was a taxonomising: a rigidifying of cultural markers aided by a rigid separation of selected peoples backed up by statute. Territory, and political space, was also so divided.[40]

Boundedness: Internal/External and the Lifanyuan

The symbolism of universalism was an important ideological underpinning to Qing order. On another important level, however, the reality of geopolitics led to political and diplomatic practices and strategies which acknowledged the territorial and geographic limitations of Qing imperial space. This was particularly the case in the Qing handling of the expansion of the Muscovite empire into eastern Siberia and the Amur River basin of northern Manchuria. This was the ancestral land and preserve of the Manchus, and such expansion was particularly worrying to the Court. The two empires negotiated two treaties on boundary delimitation, the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1688 and the Treaty of Kiakhta concluded in 1728, and Qing imperial officials supervised the laying of boundary markers on the Manchurian frontier between the two empires.[41]

Inside, the empire divided broadly into two segments. Qing order distinguished between the eighteen provinces of China Proper (*Zhongguo*, the middle country)—referred to from the perspective of the north as "*nei di*" or "internal territory" and the "*wai fan*" territories of Inner and Outer Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet.[42] Although termed "*wai*" or outside, the word "*fan*," as we have already discussed, means

[39] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Qing Colonial Administration in Inner Asia" *International History Review*, vol. 20, no. 2 (June 1998) pp. 293-294; Crossley, "Thinking About Ethnicity," pp. 22-23. See also Claudine Salmon, *Un example d'acculturaltion chinoise: la province du Gui Zhou au XVII ' siècle* (Paris: Ecole francaise d'extrême-orient, 1971) for a detailed account of the Qing incorporation of southwestern frontier areas.

[40] On the taxonomising effect see Crossley, "Thinking About Ethnicity," pp. 24-25; for the unintended effects of such taxonomising, see Evelyn S. Rawski, "Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55, no. 4 (November 1996), p. 842.

[41] See Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia *c.* 1800," p. 38.

[42] Manchuria as the ancestral homeland of the Manchus was also regarded as a separate territory.

"a fence, a buffer or protection" and implied a colonial or vassal status.[43] These areas of Inner Asia, were thus perceived as under direct Qing rule. In these territories local rulers had sworn allegiance to the emperor and had been absorbed into an administrative order overseen by the *Lifanyuan*, a central government bureaucracy which supervised the ritualised meetings between local rulers in Inner Asia and the emperor.[44] Such meetings were strictly regulated according to an annual roster of "turns" (*nianban*) and were a crucial part of a reiterative process of political integration.[45] These meetings took the form of Pilgrimage (*chaojin*) and Tribute (*chaogong*). Ning Chia in his examination of the Inner Asian rituals superintended by the Lifanyuan argues that performance of the Pilgrimage ritual in particular was the ultimate determinant of internal status within the Qing polity.[46]

The value of Inner Asian territory also, particularly in the Mongol case, lay in security (reinforcing the "protect" sense of "*fan*"). In the Kangxi emperor's words: "Our Dynasty does not construct border defenses, it uses the Mongol tribes as a buffer to protect" (*yi Menggu buluo wei zhi pingfan*).[47] At a further distance in conceptual space within the universal order but "outside" the Qing political space could be found *chaogong guo*—tributary states ranging from such culturally similar and proximate kingdoms as Korea to culturally distinct and distant countries such as Holland. In the Qing bureaucratic division of labour, the Board of Rites handled relations with these states and supervised their tribute missions.

[43] See also John King Fairbank, "A Preliminary Framework," in John King Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 9-10 for a discussion of the term.

[44] Perhaps as an indicator of the different nuances that can be placed upon its meaning, the Chinese title for this institution has been variously translated into English. "Court of Colonial Affairs" and "Office for Relations with Mongol Principalities" are just two versions which signal the parameters of meaning. See respectively John King Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yu, *Ch'ing Administration: Three Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 30; and F.W. Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 868. In Manchu the cultural assumptions of superiority which flavoured Chinese imperial language disappeared and the office was referred to as the "Ministry Ruling the Outer Provinces." See Ning Chia, "The Lifanyuan and the Inner Asian Rituals in the early Qing (1644-1795)," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 14, No 1 (June 1993), p. 61.

[45] Ning Chia, "The Lifanyuan and the Inner Asian Rituals," p. 61, following on from David Miller Farquhar, "The Ch'ing Administration of Mongolia up to the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1960), p. 99.

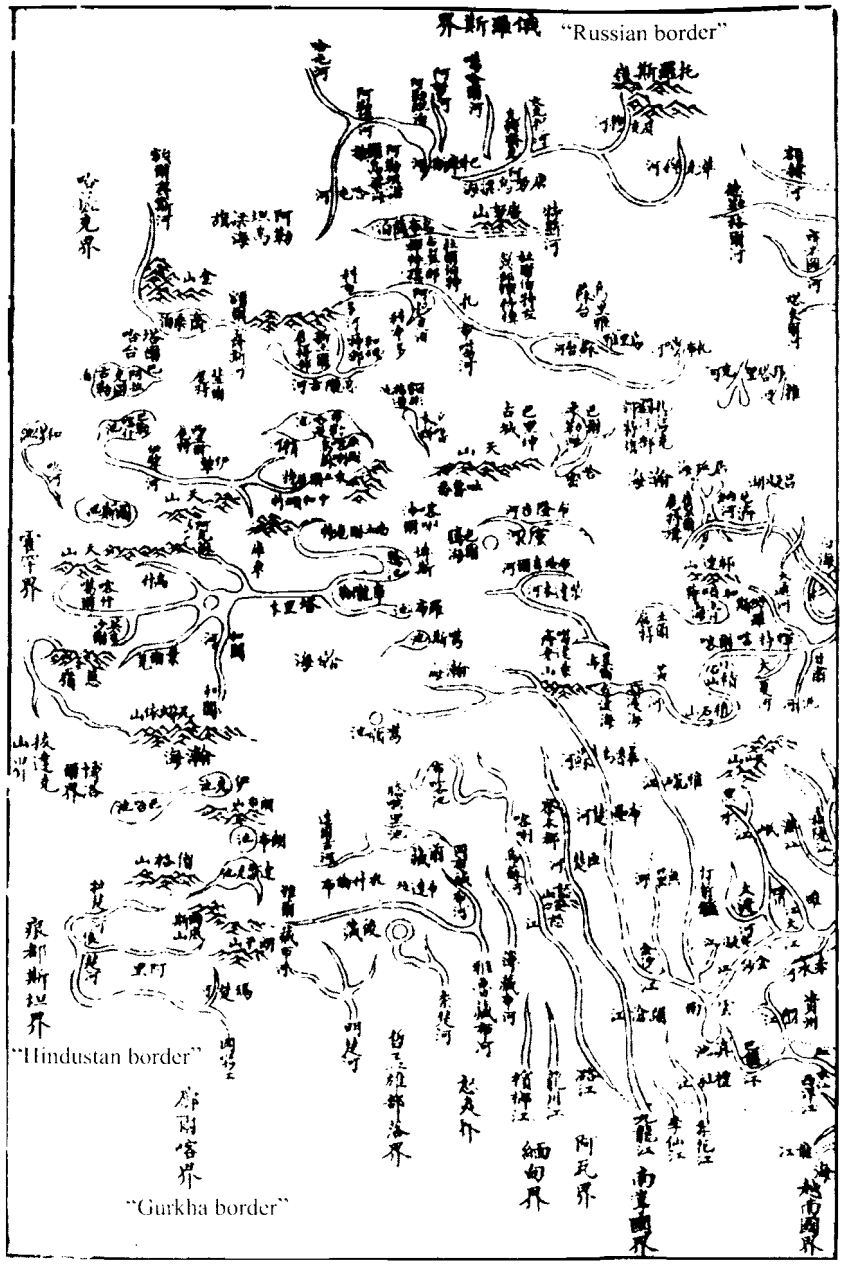
[46] Ning Chia, "The Lifanyuan and the Inner Asian Rituals ," pp. 64-65.

[47] *Chengde fu zhi* quoted in Zhang Yuxin, *Qin dai qianqi Xibu bianzheng shilun*, p. 2.

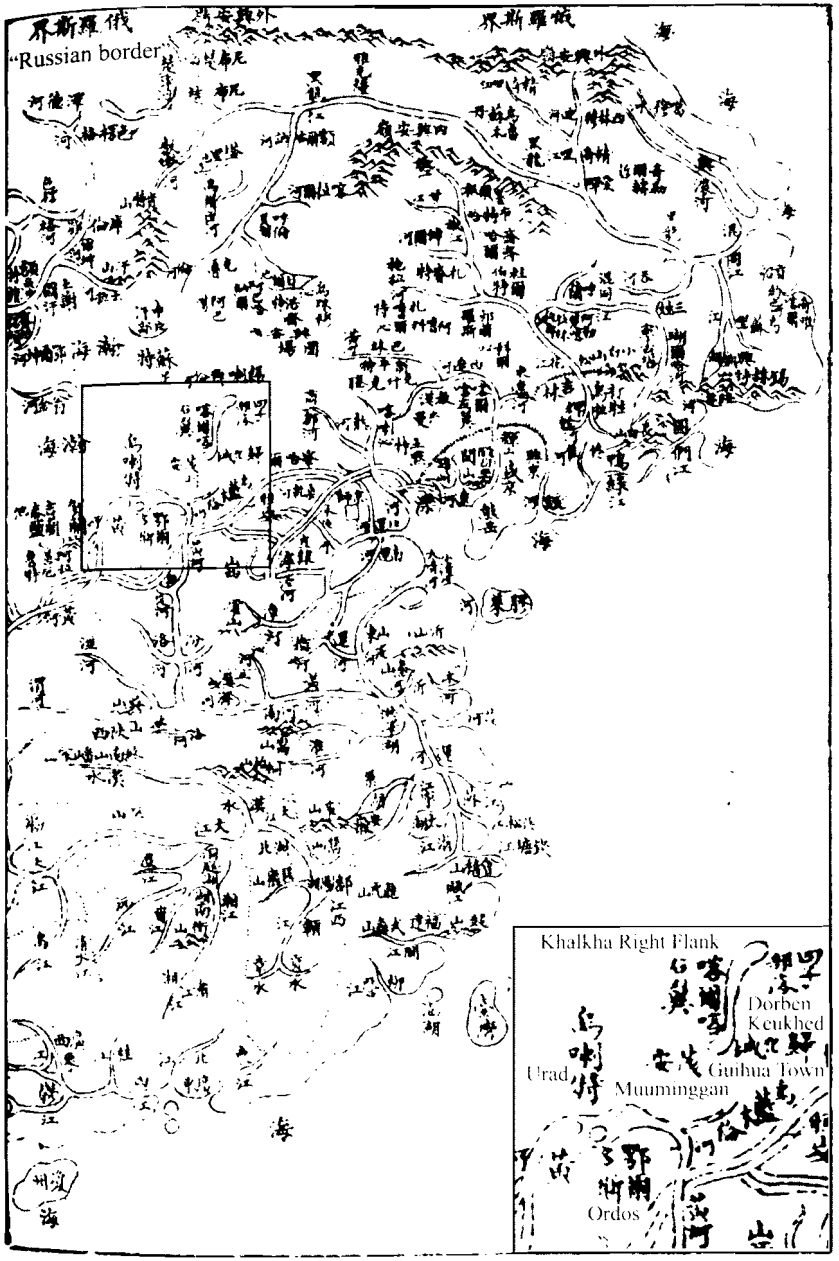
A general map of imperial territory appearing in the Jiaqing era edition of the *Unified Gazetteer of the Qing Empire* gives graphic expression to how Qing spatial order was conceived around 1820 (see Map 2).[48] Although not plotted with continuous international border lines, (as one would expect on a modern political map) the map clearly designates boundaries of the empire. Thus at the top of the map in several places is inscribed the words "Russian border"[*Eluosi jie*] and in the bottom left hand corner "Hindustan [*Hendusitan*] border," "Gurkha [*Kuo'erka*] border" etc. The map also makes a distinction between China Proper and Inner Asian dependent territory by plotting the provincial divisions of China Proper with faintly-drawn dotted lines. This space occupies a rough third of the imperium and is bounded in the north by three parallel lines representing the Great Wall. No such political divisions appear for the other two thirds of imperial space, it is a territory of mountains, rivers and vast expanses of desert or steppe referred to metaphorically by the legend *han hai* (literally, "vast ocean," a term commonly used to refer to the Gobi desert in particular), between which appear the names of Inner Asian peoples and the odd administration of these regions.

The map is useful in bringing out the relative sizes of the Inner Asian and Chinese sections of the empire. It also situates and identifies some of the main features of our area. The Great Bend of the Yellow River appears in a central position within the empire and the map's creators identify Guihua Town and give the names of imperially-recognised Mongol tribes in the area: the Ordos (*E'erduosi*), Urad (*Wulate*), Khalkha Right Flank (*Ka'erka you yi*), Dorben Keukhed (*Sizi buluo*), and Muuminggan (*Mao ming'an*). The terms of these tribes territorial division is not represented. The complexity of specialised territorial administrative units and jurisdictions into which the Qing state divided its Inner Asian segment is more difficult to represent on a map of this size and type and, perhaps because of this and in contrast to their treatment of China Proper, the map-makers have opted to provide details of names of Inner Asian tribes and peoples without attempting to plot even the most general of political-administrative divisions.

[48] *Jiaqing chong xiu yi tong zhi*, 560 juan (1842; Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 1st juan, pp. 22-23. Although completed in the 22nd year of the Daoguang emperor, or 1842, this new edition of the *Da Qing yi tong zhi* has a cut-off year of 1820. Earlier editions of this gazetteer appeared in 1743 and 1784.



Map 2: Qing Empire circa 1820 as represented in the Jiaqing edition *Unified Gazetteer* (Left plate)



Right plate with inset showing area around Guihua Town
(based on *Jiaqing chongxiu yitong zhi*, 560 juan, 35 vols (1820. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 22-23)

QING MONGOLIA

With the downfall and expulsion from China of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368, the centre of Mongol polities moved north and the imperial Chinggisid clan line (the lineal descendants of Chinggis Khan) continued under the name of the Northern Yuan.[49] The Mongol nobility, however, grew disunited and imperial authority rapidly weakened. Mongols were beset by internecine disputes and wars so that by the end of the 16th century, "Mongolia had ceased in all but name to be an empire, and was a mere collection of more or less independent petty princedoms."[50] Nonetheless a clear sense remained of a Mongol *ulus*, a country or realm, understood as a historically continuous "geographical domain inhabited by people with shared cultural markers."[51] For Mongols, this was distinct from other countries such as China and Tibet with their own systems of traditional governance. At about the same time the Jurchens (Manchus) commenced their rise to power.

Alliance and incorporation were important features—indeed skills—of the Manchu leadership's strategy in their path of conquest. The various powerful Mongol tribes which occupied the steppe lands to the north of Ming dynasty China were a formidable strategic component in the balance of power in Inner Asia. In alliance with the Manchus, the Mongols became a crucial strategic component of Qing order.[52] As one scholar has observed, the Qing became the first dynasty in Chinese history to successfully incorporate the Mongols. So successful were they in fact, that the Mongols moved from being a foreign problem at the start of the dynasty to becoming largely a domestic problem at the end of it.[53] Mongol incorporation into Qing administration meant the end of steppe empires. The terms of this incorporation, however, were administratively complex and contained distinctions which need to be understood in order to fully appreciate

[49] C.R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), p. 23.

[50] Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, p. 25.

[51] Christopher P. Atwood, "National Questions and National Answers in the Chinese Revolution Or, How Do You Say *Minzu* in Mongolian?" *Indiana University Working Papers on Language and Politics in Modern China*, Winter 1994, (http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/pages/easc/working_papers/framed_5b.htm), accessed 10 October 1997.

[52] See Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, pp. 261-263, for an account of the power balance on the steppe in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

[53] David Farquhar, "The Origins of the Manchus' Military Policy," in John King Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese World Order*, p. 198.

the Qing organisation of the Mongol segment of the empire. The basic administrative institutions and distinctions were established in the 1630s.

Qing order appended the ethnographic signifiers *Meng* and *Menggu* ("Mongol" or "Mongolia") to two quite separate forms of administration and collective identity. Qing administrators distinguished between those Mongols who joined with the Jurchens in the initial stages of the formation of the Latter Jin conquest state, established in Manchuria in 1616,[54] and the majority of Mongol tribes who were absorbed later. The former had become so numerous by 1635 as to be organized into a "Mongol Eight Banner" administration identical to the eight banner system in existence amongst their overlords the Jurchens. Han soldiers who had joined the Jurchens during the same period were similarly organized into a corresponding "Han Martial Eight Banner" system.[55] In this sense, then, Mongols belonging to these banners were "regarded as of one body"—that is, viewed as part of the inner core or "conquest elite" alongside Manchu bannermen.[56] Most importantly, as with the Manchu banners, the Mongol Eight Banner system was not territorial. Eight Banner Mongols were further divided between "Eight Banner Mongols stationed in the capital" (*zhu Jing ba qi Menggu*) and those that filled official positions at garrisons throughout the empire (*zhu fang ba qi Menggu*) and, depending on the date of incorporation, also "Old" and "New" Mongols.[57] The great majority of Mongol tribes, however, allied with or submitted to the Manchus later and became subject to a new bureaucracy, the Lifanyuan. Three institutions were central to the Lifanyuan's administration of Mongols: a system of regulated aristocratic rankings and titles, the imperially-supervised Lamaist

[54] Note that the term "Manchu" as a signifier of collective identity only came into being by decree in 1635; similarly in the following year the name of the conquest dynasty was changed from "Jin" to "Qing." See Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, Second Edition (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 19-28.

[55] See *Menggu zu jian shi* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp.236-237 for an account of the Mongol Eight Banner system including relevant dates. Eight Chinese Martial banners were in existence by 1642. See Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, p. 260; and Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchu and Han Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2000), p. 23.

[56] Pamela K. Crossley, *The Manchus* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1997), p. 81.

[57] *Menggu zu jian shi*, p. 237. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, p. 91 also provides a good overview of the Eight Banner system.

Buddhist church, and most importantly, a system of banners quite different in conception to the Eight Banner system.[58]

For those Mongols not reorganised within the Eight Banner system, the Qing emphasised lineal descent from the Yuan royal house as the primary defining feature of Mongol collective identity. As the *Imperial Summary of Dependent Regions* compiled in the mid-Qing period began in its account of the subject: "Mongolia is the progeny of the Yuan [dynasty]. With the passing of the Yuan, its descendants north and south of the [Gobi] desert [accounted for], more than 100 parts [*bu*], all by turn flourishing and declining."[59] The historical foundation of Mongolia was manifest in the genealogies of its nobility organised along clan and tribal lines. Thus, first and foremost, "Mongolia" and Mongols was a collection of "tribes" (Mongolian: *aimagh*; Chinese: *buluo*) each of which could be traced back to the Yuan royal house.[60] Territorially this concept of Mongolia centred on Mongols north and south of the Gobi or what has been termed the Eastern Mongols.[61] Qing administration preserved Mongol genealogies and the central importance of the Chinggisid lineage of the Eastern Mongols as part of the creation of a system of noble rankings and a Qing Mongol aristocracy. This said, the Qing also acknowledged

[58] See *Lifanyuan zeli*, punctuated, edited and annotated by Yang Xuandi and Jin Feng, based on the various Qing editions (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu wenhua chubanshe, 1998), for an overview. For further details on the Mongolian nobility during the Qing and Qing supervision of Lamaist Buddhism see Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 276-277, 280-282.

[59] Bao Wenhan (ed.), *Qingchao fanbu yaolüe gaoben*, edited version of drafts of Qi Yunshi (comp.) *Huangchao fanbu yaolüe* first published in 1845 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 1st juan, 1st page.

[60] Whether or not these groups constituted tribes in the modern anthropological sense is another question. As Atwood argues, "there is also a common belief that nomads (and hence Mongols) naturally organize themselves into the relatively small, acephalous, egalitarian, and kin-based social units traditionally designated in anthropology as tribes. Whatever one thinks of the continued utility of the term 'tribe' in general, the Mongols of Inner Mongolia and Mongolia proper from the sixteenth century on certainly did not have a tribal organization in this anthropological sense." See Atwood, "National Questions," n. 46. The English term "tribe" also bears a raft of negative connotations associated with primitiveness and the lack of more "sophisticated" forms of political organisation. See also Owen Lattimore, "Mongolia" in H.G.W. Woodhead (ed.), *The China Year Book 1933* (Shanghai: The North-China Daily News and Herald Ltd., 1934), p. 191.

[61] See for example Dmitrii Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols During the Ming Dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, translated by Rudolf Loewenthal (1947 reprint edition, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1976), p. 29; also Veronika Veit, "Die mongolischen Völkerschaften vom 15. Jahrhundert bis 1691," in Michael Weiers (ed.), *Die Mongolen Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), p 380.

and eventually incorporated groupings of what it termed Oirats or Western Mongols, the various tribes of non-Chinggisid lineage based from the 1400s in the area of the Altai Mountains west of the Gobi desert.[62] Identification and enumeration according to *aimagh* remained an important means of classifying Mongol imperial subjects and describing their distribution through territorial space. However the Qing were very quick to sub-divide the *aimagh* into the basic unit of Qing Mongol administration, the territorial banner.

The banner (M *khushighun*; C *qi*) was originally a traditional Mongol military unit of organization which the Manchus adapted as the basic military and political administrative unit for much of the Inner Asian segment of the empire. By subdivision of the *aimagh* into territorially-defined banners the older systems of Mongol collective identity were weakened and obscured and new vertical ties between individual banners and central imperial authority became emphasised and strengthened.[63] The territorial element in administration was also new to Mongol organisational thinking. Traditionally, fixed territory bore only an accidental relationship to identity. The new banners were composed of both a clearly-defined and bounded territory and people (subjects) headed by a banner administrator (M *jasagh*; C *zhasake*), most usually a bearer of hereditary titles and therefore referred to as the banner prince (C *wanggong*).[64] Internally the banner broke down into a series of sub-units termed in Mongolian *sumun* (C *zuoling*), composed of households who migrated with their herds within the boundaries of the banner. Atwood describes banner subjects as "a kind of nomadic peasantry, that is, a basically demilitarized commoner class formed not of corporate lineages but of nuclear or extended families engaged in subsistence production and ruled by a highly privileged hereditary nobility."[65] Banner subjects were bound by tax, corvee, and military service obligations to the banner prince who in return determined the allocation of grazing land. Externally banners were arranged into regional groupings of leagues (M *chighulghan*; C *meng*). From the mid-Qing onwards each league was headed by a court appointee selected from among banner princes.[66] Princes from

[62] Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, p. 233; Millward, *Beyond the Pass*, pp. 29-30.

[63] Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, p.319.

[64] Jagchid and Hyer point out that very occasionally the jasagh did not have an hereditary title. See *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, p. 277.

[65] Atwood, "National Questions," n. 46.

[66] Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, pp. 278-279; Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, p. 276, gives the date 1674 for the creation of leagues.

member banners of the league were required to convene the league every three years to coordinate military and legal matters.[67]

Most importantly for our purposes, the organizational principles behind the banner were quite different to the system of territorial administration in China Proper. The quasi-feudal tie between banner subjects and banner nobility and between banner prince and the emperor, as well as the hereditary nature of princely banner rule, contrasted with the bureaucratized and hierarchical system of provinces, prefectures, and counties in China Proper ruled by appointed officials. Although tied down to fixed territories Mongols still remained pastoralists and were most often referred to by Qing writers as "nomads" or "nomadic herders"(*youmu*).[68] The Mongol policy expert, Yao Xiguang, writing at the end of the dynasty at a time of the breakdown and questioning of earlier Qing policy towards Mongols, expressed one of the most important of the underlying assumptions behind such policy: "nomads are suited to feudal rule [*yi yu fengjian*], and can't be ruled with a centralised system [of government]; tillers [of the soil], however, are suited to rule by prefectures and counties and power can be centrally concentrated to rule them."[69] Both pastoralism and the system of leagues and banners became important attributes of the Mongol nation in the eyes of some Mongolian nationalists in the early 20th century.

Inner, Outer, and Other Mongolias

Banners sub-divided Mongol space within the empire, but there was no single administrative unit for "Mongolia."[70] Instead, Qing Mongolia was made of a patchwork of discontinuous and segmented territories distinguished on the basis of different jurisdictional powers, geography, ethnography, as well as functional considerations. Administrative categories were determined by both time and the nature of incorporation. Among Eastern Mongols, those south of the Gobi were the first to ally with the Manchus and to be administratively reorganised. In the period from 1634 to 1670 the various pre-Qing aimagh of this area were slowly sub-divided into a series of forty-nine banners ruled by jasaghs later grouped into six leagues. These banners comprised "Inner Jasagh Mongolia" (*nei zhasake Menggu*) or "Inner Mongolia" (*nei Menggu*), the core Mongol area of the empire. Mongols north of the Gobi submitted to the Empire in 1691 and were similarly sub-divided into banners, but their banner princes were classed as "Outer Jasaghs" (*wai zhasake*) and the sections of the empire under them was variously termed "Outer Jasagh Mongolia" (*wai zhasake Menggu*) "Outer Jasagh Khalkha Mongolia," (*wai zhasake ka'erka Menggu*) or "Outer Mongolia." This geo-administrative category included the four great Khalkha khanates north of the Gobi (subdivided into 86 banners and grouped into four leagues). Tribal groupings of western Mongols, such as the Oirats of Qinghai and Zungaria, were incorporated and sub-divided at different times during the eighteenth century and also came under the broad category of "Outer Jasagh Mongolia."[71] Collectively, all of these populations were referred to as "Outer Dependent Mongolia" (*wai fan Menggu*).

A key distinction between Outer and Inner Jasagh lay in military power. Inner Jasaghs had the authority to lead troops, while Outer Jasaghs did not.[72] Thus, in Qing thinking, the conceptual distinction between Inner and Outer Mongolia was, in the first instance, a reflection of relative levels of imperially invested power rather than relative geographical proximity. This was a function of the different times of incorporation of these groupings of Mongols (which of course was ultimately determined by geography).

Inner and Outer Jasagh Mongolia were key features of Qing Mongol administrative order but with the passing of time there was a further elaboration of jurisdiction and administrative geography. The 1793 *Evolutionary Gazetteer of Mongolia* divides its subject into five sections: "Inner Mongolia south of the Gobi, Outer Mongolia north of the Gobi, Helan Mountain Mongolia, Zunghar Oirad Mongolia, and

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[67] See the *Lifanyuan zeli*, 30th juan pp. 266-269 for details governing the regulation of league conferences. For a detailed analysis of the Qing Mongol banner system see Christopher P. Atwood, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 2002), pp. 23-35.

[68] For example see the title of Zhang Mu's famous survey of Mongol lands *Records of Mongol Nomads*, Zhang Mu and He Qiutao, *Menggu youmu ji* (1867. Reprint edition Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965).

[69] Yao Xiguang, *Chou Meng zou yi* (1907), quoted in Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qingmo Nei menggu de difang jianzhi yu chouhua jian sheng 'shi bian'," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu*, no. 1, (1998) p. 17.

[70] It should be noted that the term *Menggu* can be translated differently depending upon context. Sometimes it clearly means people: Mongol, Mongols; at other times it has the sense of territory: Mongolia.

[71] See Bawden, *Modern History*, pp. 47-87. On the terminology see the *Lifanyuan zeli*, 1st juan, pp. 60-64, which lists 150 banners under the category of "Outer Jasagh."

[72] *Mengguzu jian shi*, p. 231. See the *Lifanyuan zeli*, 1st juan, pp. 59-64 for a detailed breakdown of the banner components of the Inner and Outer Jasagh categories.

Qinghai Oirad Mongolia." [73] The last three were various aimaghs of western Mongols subdivided into banners at different times from the late 17th century into the 18th century.[74] By the time of the publication of the *Gazetteer of Mongolia* in 1907 its author divided Mongolia into seven large sections: "Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, Mongolia west of the [Great] Bend [of the Yellow River referred to as *Xitao Menggu*], Kobdo, Uriyankhai, Qinghai and "nomadic Mongolia belonging to the Court" [*neishu youmu Menggu*]." [75] Qinghai obviously referred to what the *Evolutionary Gazetteer* termed "Qinghai Oirad Mongolia." Mongolia West of the Bend, was an alternative name for Helun Mountain Mongolia; Zunghar Oirad Mongolia referred to banners north of the Altai mountains in Kobdo; and Uriyankhai was an area in the extreme north of the empire beyond Kobdo and is today the Republic of Tanu-Tuva within the Russian Federation.[76] The last category of *neishu* or "Court" Mongolia was directly relevant to Qing administration of Mongols on the Tumed plain and will be discussed below.

To this diverse complex of banner groupings must be added other systems of administration. Some sections of Mongol lands were not organised as banner territory but instead became official pastoral farms with their populations charged with providing livestock to different Qing imperial departments and offices.[77] The Qing system of Lamaistic administration was also extremely important in Mongol areas, particularly as 30 to 65 per cent of the male population were lamas in the network of monasteries located throughout Mongolia.[78] Inner Mongolia alone had between 800 and 1,000 such monasteries, some of which had substantial holdings of land.[79] Within Guihua Town or its vicinity alone, over ten important monasteries were established before or during the early Qing period.[80] Finally, and most importantly, the Qing instituted a network of generals, military governors and other high-ranking administrators with garrisons throughout Mongol areas. These officials were sometimes explicitly responsible for the executive administration of banners or groupings of banners such as the ambans in Xining, Kobdo, and Illi or had a more loosely-defined jurisdictional role in overseeing security in particular regions of Mongolia as was the case with the Suiyuan Town General.[81]

ADMINISTRATIVE GEOGRAPHY SURROUNDING THE TWIN TOWNS

Mongol Administrative Geography

Differentiation and non-continuity of territory lay at the heart of the way that the area around the twin towns was arranged. Mongol territorial administration divided the area into three, roughly along the boundaries of the three physiographical regions outlined above. The majority of the area was the territory of jasagh banners belonging to Inner Jasagh Mongolia's two westernmost leagues: Yeke-juu League (C *Yikezhao meng*) and Ulaanchab League (C *Wulanchabu meng*). The remaining section, the central Tumed plain around the twin towns, was designated as territory of the Guihua Town Tumed left and right banners—an administration, as we have mentioned, which was not classified as Inner Jasagh Mongolia, but as "Court Mongolia." Finally a small section of the plain at its eastern-most extension formed part of the territory of the Chahar banners, and also came under the category of Court Mongolia (See Map 3).

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[73] *Menggu yange zhi*. See Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fang zhi kaoshu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 25-27, for a description.

[74] 'Helan Mountain Mongolia' is a reference to Alashan banner and Ejina banner, which came to occupy the area west of the Ordos plateau. These were the banners into which the Khoshot tribe and Old Torghut tribe of western Mongols were reorganised respectively at the end of the seventeenth century; Zunghar Oriad Mongolia was in Zungharia, the area between the Tianshan and Altai mountain ranges in what after 1884 became the province of Xinjiang; and Qinghai Oirad Mongolia was the 29 banners of Oirad Mongols divided into two leagues in the Kokonor or Qinghai region. They were under the direct command of an imperial official in Xining. See Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia," pp. 51-52.

[75] Yao Minghui (ed.), *Menggu zhi* (1907, Reprint edition, Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), 2nd juan 1st page. Interestingly, as Te-mo-le points out, this text does not include any discussion of Mongol banners now drawn within provincial boundaries as of 1907, in particular, Mongol banners in Heilongjiang and Xinjiang provinces. Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fang zhi kaoshu*, p. 33.

[76] Lattimore discusses Uriyankhai in Lattimore, "Mongolia," p. 198

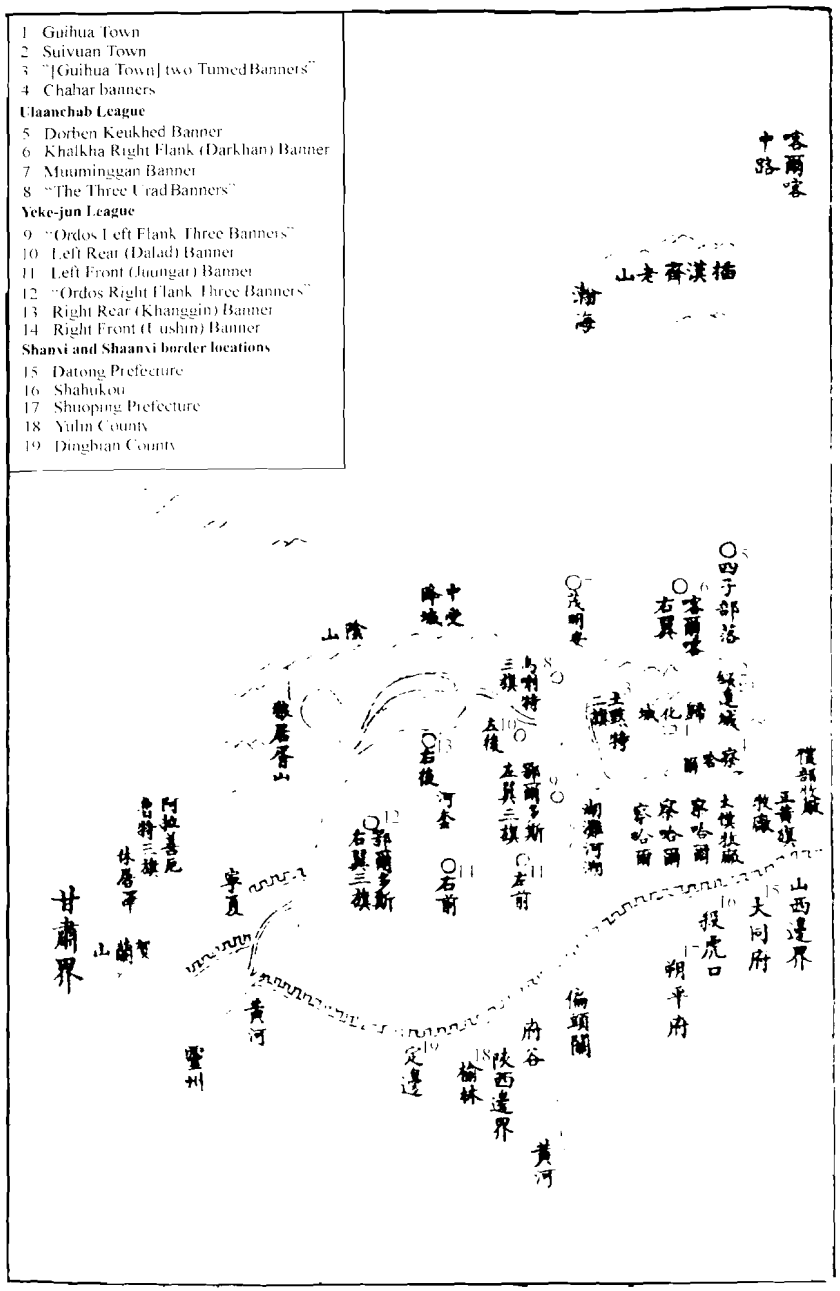
[77] Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, pp. 327-328.

[78] Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 254. To this figure should be added the significant numbers of *shabinar*, or bondsmen/serfs, belonging to monasteries or high-ranking reincarnating lamas, see Fletcher "Ch'ing Inner Asia," p. 51; Jagchid and Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, p. 280.

[79] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p. 254; also Robert James Miller, *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959), p. 27.

[80] Hyer, "An Historical sketch," p. 66 provides a list with both Mongolian and Chinese names of these. There were also other smaller temples. See also Jin Qizong, "Huhehaote zhao miao, qingzhensi lishi gaikuang," *Huhehaote shiliao*, no. 1, pp. 225-269, which gives a very detailed account and a chronology of monastery and temple building in and around Hohhot from the late Ming period onwards.

[81] See *Lifanyuan zeli*, pp. 62-64.


1 Guihua Town
2 Suiyuan Town
3 "[Guihua Town] two Tumed Banners"
4 Chahar banners
Ulaanchab League
5 Dorben Keukhed Banner
6 Khalkha Right Flank (Darkhan) Banner
7 Muuminggan Banner
8 "The Three Urad Banners"
Yeke-jun League
9 "Ordos Left Flank Three Banners"
10 Left Rear (Dalad) Banner
11 Left Front (Juungar) Banner
12 "Ordos Right Flank Three Banners"
13 Right Rear (Khanggin) Banner
14 Right Front (Uushin) Banner
Shanxi and Shaanxi border locations
15 Datong Prefecture
16 Shahukou
17 Shuoping Prefecture
18 Yulin County
19 Dingbian County

Map 3: Mongol administrative space in southwestern Mongolia circa 1820 as represented in the Jiaqing era edition *Unified Gazetteer*

(based on left plate of "waifan Menggu" map in *Jiaqing chongxiu yitong zhi*, vol. 33, p. 26443)

Yeke-juu League

In the late 1450s groups of eastern Mongols moved southwards across the Yellow River into the Ordos plateau forcing the Ming Chinese to withdraw.[82] These Ordos Mongols joined with Jurchen forces in 1631 and were subdivided initially into six banners between 1649 and 1659 with a seventh banner added in 1736. The seven banners that made up Yeke-juu League occupied the total area of the Ordos plateau and were imperial sub-divisions of what the Qing recognized as the Ordos aimagh (C. *E'erduosi bu*). The banners were organised into left and right or eastern and western "flanks" (C. *yi*) and identified by both formal and informal names. Two of the three left flank banners occupied the more fertile north eastern section of the plateau adjacent to the eastern Houtao area and the Tumed plain. These were Left Rear Banner (commonly known as Dalad Banner), and Left Front or Juungar Banner. Because of the change in the course of the Yellow River from the mid-1800s onwards, Dalad Banner also claimed important lands across the River in the Houtao region including the area around what became the important settlement of Wuyuan.[83] The remaining left flank Banner, Left Middle or Wang Banner (sometimes referred to as Jun Wang Banner), was bounded on three sides by other Ordos banners and ran in its southern extremity to the Great Wall and the border of Shenmu County in Shaanxi Province.[84] The four right flank Yeke-juu banners encompassed the larger western portion of the plateau. Right Rear or Khanggin Banner occupied the northwestern section of this grouping and, as with Dalad Banner, claimed lands on the northern banks of the Yellow River within its boundaries. South of Khanggin Banner lay the largest of the Yeke-juu banners in area, Right Middle or Otog Banner, which had the Yellow River as its western boundary and bordered on sections of Gansu and Dingbian County in Shaanxi to its south. Finally, in the south central section of the Ordos, and contiguous with the Great Wall and Shaanxi's Yulin, Hengshan, and Jingbian counties were Right Front and Right Front End banners (Uushin Banner and Jasagh Banner). With the delimiting and establishment of Jasagh Banner in 1736, banner boundaries in the

[82] Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, p. 242; Waldron, *The Great Wall of China*, p. 62.
[83] See *STZG*, 1971, 2nd juan, p. 62.
[84] This banner included the campsite of Chinggis Khan. The 500 or so families that acted as guardians of the camp were regarded as not belonging to any banner. See Zhou Qingshu (ed.), *Nei Menggu lishi dili* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1994), p. 202.

Ordos were fixed.[85] Along the southern boundaries of those banners contiguous with Gansu and Shaanxi, the early Qing court established a fifty *li* exclusion or buffer zone.

Ulaanchab League

Unlike the case in the Ordos, where the league was exclusively composed of one pre-conquest aimagh, the Ulaanchab banners had resulted from the incorporation of four Eastern Mongol aimaghs. These were given pastures and territory north of the Ordos and the Tumed plain. Three aimagh were organised into single banners: the Dorben Keukhed in 1636; the Minggan (most commonly referred to as Muuminggan) in 1664; and a Khalkha grouping from north of the Gobi which split from one of the four great Khalkha khanates, moved south, and became enrolled as an Inner Mongol banner in 1653 (that is before the Khanates tendered allegiance and became reorganised as Outer Jasagh Mongolia in 1691).[86] This last grouping became what was alternatively known as Khalkha Right Flank or Darkhan Banner. Dorben Keukhed Banner's territory occupied the northeastern section of Ulaanchab League bordering on Shilin-gol League in the east and the southern fringes of the Gobi desert and Outer Mongolia in the north. Darkhan Banner lay west of Dorben Keukhed; its northern boundary was also contiguous with Outer Mongolia. North and northeast of Baotou was Muuminggan Banner. The southern boundaries of all three of these banners ran approximately to the northern fringes of the Daqing mountains and the Guihua Town Tumed Banner lands. The remaining three banners occupied the western section of Ulaanchab League and were subdivisions of the Urad aimagh divided into Front, Middle, and Rear banners in 1648 and referred to alternatively in Chinese as West, Middle and East Gong banners respectively. The banners occupied an area immediately north of the Ordos and incorporated portions of the Houtao area. The Urad banners territory ran east to Muuminggan Banner, west to the Alashan

[85] A map of Yeke-juu League giving detailed banner boundaries was drafted in the early 1740s after the creation of Jasagh Banner. See Yikezhao meng difang zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (ed.), *Yikezhao meng zhi*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe, 1994), pp.193-201.

[86] The dates of banner formation come from Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, pp. 197-299.

region and north to the Gobi desert. Boundaries between these three banners were not clearly defined during the Qing.[87]

Court Mongolia: The Guihua Town Tumed Banners and the Chahar Banners

In contrast to the forty-nine banners that made up the six leagues of Inner Mongolia, the Guihua Town Tumed banners and the Chahar banners were not ruled by their own hereditary jasagh-princes but by imperial appointees, and had more circumscribed autonomy. Qing administrative geography classified these banners as "Court Mongolia" (*nei shu Menggu*) and viewed them as separate from Inner Mongolia.

In the half century from Altan Khan's death in 1582 to the Tumeds' surrender in 1632, the tribe became severely weakened and disunited. Three years after surrendering to the imperial conquering army in Guihua, Emubu (the leader of the Tumeds), was accused of planning a revolt. He was promptly arrested and stripped of his noble status and the Tumeds were divided into left and right banners each to be overseen by a Court-appointed Commander-in-Chief (*dutong*).[88] Guihua Town became the demarcation point between the banners; east of the town was Tumed right banner land and west was Tumed left banner.[89] The terms of this administrative arrangement changed under different emperors. In the early years of the Qing the commanders-in-chief of each banner were selected from within the banner; later they came from outside. Finally under the Qianlong emperor in 1761 the two separate positions of Commander-in-Chief were abolished and the two banners were placed under one Vice-Commander-in-Chief resident in Guihua (*Guihua cheng fu dutong*) who in turn was directly under the Suiyuan Town General. Thus the Tumed banners suffered a decline in their political autonomy

[87] See Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, pp. 199-200.

[88] Tumote zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (ed.), *Tumote (bu) qi lishi jianjie* (1987), pp. 25-26; Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Mengga lishi dili*, p. 226. The translation of the term *dutong* comes from Hucker, *Official Titles*, p. 545.

[89] Rong Xiang and Rong Genglin, *Tumote yange*, vol. 1, pp. 41-53; The Guihua Town Tumed banners should not be confused with the Tumed banners of Josoto league of eastern Inner Mongolia. Zhang Mu, the famous Qing period compiler of information regarding Mongols, does not mention the category of "nei shu Menggu" but includes a brief discussion of the Guihua Tumeds at the end of his description of the the Josoto Tumed banners. See Zhang Mu and He Qiutao, *Menggu youmu ji*, p. 119.

over time.[90] The banners' territory also suffered territorial reduction in the first hundred years of the Qing, with large sections going to neighbouring banners.[91] Eventually they came to stretch from the territory of the Chahar banners in the east across the Tumed plain to the settlement of Baotou in the west. The Great Bend of the Yellow River demarcated much of the southwestern boundary of Tumed west banner and banner territory extended to pastures just beyond the Daqing Mountain range in the north. The Shanxi section of the Great Wall running from the Yellow River in the west to the pass at Shahukou in the east marked the banners' southern boundary.

The Chahars faced a similar fate to the Tumeds. The Chahars submitted to Jurchen rule in 1635 after the death of their leader, the most senior bearer of the Chinggisid lineage among the Eastern Mongols, Lighdan Khan. After submission they were established on lands in what today is Liaoning province. In 1675 the Chahars rebelled against Qing authority and, after putting down the rebellion, the Kangxi emperor abolished the Chahar hereditary nobility and relocated the tribe to border territory north of Datong and Xuanhua. Here the Chahars were reorganised into eight banners according to Manchu Eight Banner administration and placed under an imperially-appointed Commander-in-Chief resident in Zhangjiakou. By this move the Chahars became little more than military functionaries. Eventually four specialised pasture administrations (sometimes termed "herds" or *muqun*) which provided horses and pastoral products for central court departments were also included within the Chahar banners.[92] The Qing court periodically and arbitrarily incorporated populations of various other Mongol tribes, including western Mongols, within the Chahar banners. Moreover Chahar banner sumun could be stationed in any part of the empire and were among the most liable of all Mongol banners to be dragooned for military service.[93] Compared to the attenuated autonomy of the

[90] See *Tumote (bu) qi lishi jianjie*, pp. 27-28, 79-85; Zhang Yongjiang also provides a brief account in Zhang Yongjiang, "Lun Qing dai monan Menggu diqu de er yuan guanli tizhi," *Qing shi yanjiu*, 2, (1998), p. 32, and argues that it was really after the Kangxi emperor's visit that control was seriously tightened.

[91] See *Tumote (bu) qi lishi jianjie*, pp. 27-28.

[92] By the end of the Qing it was customary to refer to the Chahar banners as being made up of twelve territorial administrations: the eight banners and four "herds." See Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, p. 223.

[93] Zhang Yongjiang, "Lun Qingdai monan Menggu," pp. 31-32; Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, pp. 214-215.

Guihua Tumed banners, Chahar autonomy was almost non-existent.[94] Chahar banner territory extended east from the Tumed plain and the territory of the four western or right flank Chahar banners (Pure Red Banner, Pure Yellow Banner, Bordered Red and Bordered Blue banners), came to make up the eastern section of Suiyuan province after its establishment in 1929.

Population figures for these Mongol administrations during the Qing are impressionistic. Figures based on the extrapolation of numbers of sumun for each banner at their establishment (see Table 1) combine to total a little less than 300,000 (this figure excludes the Chahar administrations) and are relatively consistent with the distribution of Mongol population between the same units of administration in the Republican period.[95]
Collectively, the Ordos banners accounted for the largest numbers of Mongol banner subjects, and the population of the Guihua Town Tumed banners was significant and eclipsed the total population of all six of the Ulaanchab banners. Most probably, this distribution of population was a result of the original size of each tribe upon its submission to the Qing, together with the relative quality of pastures and natural endowments of each of these areas. One must also consider the large numbers of lamas at monasteries situated in these banners, who would not be included in these totals. The *Overview of Suiyuan* published in 1934 gives a total figure of over 35,000 lamas for the thirteen banners of the two leagues and another 20,000 resident in monasteries and temples "within Guihua County."[96] Based on these figures, there was a secular decline in the Mongol population of the area, though there is a wide variation in estimates for the Republican period.

In keeping with the original rationale of the Mongol banners providing defence and reserves of soldiers, Qing military strategists used troops from all of these areas in the Inner Asia campaigns to subjugate the Zunghars. By the end of the eighteenth century however, the Zunghars had been defeated and either exterminated or incorporated. The steppe world was now totally subjugated, and

[94] Zhang Yongjiang, "Lun Qingdai monan Menggu," pp. 31-32.

[95] The one glaring anomaly is the figures for Otog banner. At its formation in 1650 it comprised 84 sumun, the largest number of sumun of all the Yeke-juu banners. The two Suiyuan government population estimates for the 1930s, however, place Otog among the least populated of Yeke-juu's banners at the time. See He Yangling, *Cha Sui Mengmin*, p. 12.

[96] *Suiyuan gaikuang*, Section 13, chapter 3, pp. 15-17.

Table 1: Population estimates for the banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues and the Guihua Town Tumed banners / Tumed Banner [97]

League or Banner	Common or Alternative Name	Estimated Population (early Qing)[98]	Estimates of Population (1930s)[99]	
			A.	B.
Dorben Keukhed	-	15,000	7000	10,000
Khalkha Right Flank	Darkhan, Darkhan Beile	3000	20,300	35,000
Minggan	Muuminggan	3000	1030	1000
Urad Front	West Gung	4500	5200	5000
Urad Middle	Middle Gung	4500	10,520	20,000
Urad Rear	East Gung	9000	5200	5000
Ulaanchab League		39,000 (total)	49,250	76,000 (totals)
Ordos Left Rear	Dalad	30,000	33,000	13,200
Left Middle	Wang, Jun Wang	12,750	4100	4,710
Left Front	Juungar	31,500	27,000	37,100
Right Rear	Khanggin	27,000	8610	8,620
Right Middle	Otog	64,000	5352	10,350
Right Front	Uushin	31,500	11,120	11,200
Right Front End	Jasagh	9750	3831	3818
Yeke-juu League		206,500 (total)	93,013	88,998 (totals)
Guihua Town Tumed banners / Tumed Banner		45,000 (total)	56,000	60,400 (totals)
TOTAL		295,000	198,263	225,398

[97] Because they fell under one administrator the two Guihua Town Tumed banners came to be regarded as one banner from the late Qing onwards. After 1914 Tumed Banner was conventionally known as Tumed Special Banner (see Chapter Five).

[98] He Yangling, *Cha Sui Mengmin jingji jiepou* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), pp. 8-10. Population estimates for the Chahar banners in the early Qing are 84,240 and in 1912, 45,783. See Song Naigong (ed.), *Zhongguo renkou (Nei Menggu fence)* (Beijing: Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 47, 51. The four western Chahar banners which became part of Suiyuan Province after 1928 accounted for roughly 25 - 30% of the Chahar Mongol population at the time.

[99] Two sets of figures from the 1930s are given: Suiyuan government figures for 1933 in column A; and figures from the Suiyuan government's Mass Education Office from around the same period in column B. See He Yangling, *Cha Sui Mengmin*, pp. 8-11. The Mass Education Office figures also appear in Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (comp.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao* (Guisui, 1934), section entitled "Wu yi liang meng shisan qi diaocha gaiyao," pp. 1-52, passim. See also Song Naigong (ed.), *Zhongguo renkou (Nei Menggu fence)* p. 51 for the following population estimates for 1912: Ulaanchab League, 32,526; Yeke-juu League, 171,669; Guihua Town Tumed banners, 30, 683.

Mongols lost their usefulness as steppe fighters.[100] Although troops from Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues were enlisted as late as the 1860s to aid local defence in the face of the spread of the Northwestern Muslim rebellion eastwards from Shaanxi province, through the nineteenth century, as with other aspects of Mongol life and institutions, Mongol military service also went into decline.[101]

Chinese Administrative Geography: The Sub-Prefectures of Guisui Circuit

By the mid-1700s, besides "Mongols," Qing authorities recognised the presence of two other categories of administrative subject beyond the Pass in southwestern Mongolia: "Bannermen" (*qiren*) and "Civilians" (*minren*). The bannermen were the Manchu, Mongol and Chinese Martial Eight Banner troops resident in the Suiyuan garrison under the command of the Suiyuan Town General. These numbered between three and four thousand at the establishment of the garrison in the 1730s and fluctuated in number throughout the period of the Qing.[102] The term "Civilian" contrasted to the professional military Bannermen and referred to Han subjects.[103]

Classic Qing order was based upon the separation of imperial peoples and the preservation of native political institutions. For this purpose the Qing court prohibited intermarriage between Mongol and Han, and forbade unregulated activities of Han merchants in Mongol areas and Han peasants from residing in Mongol areas.[104] To this end,

[100] Barfield, *Perilous Frontier*, p. 300.

[101] *Yi meng tong zhi*, pp. 67- 68.

[102] Conflicting sources exist on the makeup and population of the Suiyuan Town garrison with three different figures for different periods. Zhao Guoding (narrated) and Liu Yingyuan (arranged), "Shi yuan tang jiu hua," *Wode jingli jianwen: Nei Menggu wenshi ziliao* (hereafter abbreviated as *NMWSZL*) no. 31 p. 39 quotes a figure of 3,900 troops and auxiliaries based on the *Qing shi gao* "bing zhi yi," but says that this was later reduced to 2,000 troops; Jin Qizong and Tong Jingren, "Hehehaote de xingjian he fazhan," *HSL*, vol. 1, p. 218, quote the figures "123 Manchu, Mongol, and Han officials of all ranks, 4,300 Manchu, Mongol and Han infantry and cavalry troops and 54 artisans" but do not reveal their source. They also comment on the withdrawal of Mongol and Han Martial troops.

[103] It is only much later in the dynasty that the term "Han" was used consistently in official documents to refer to Han Chinese. Crossley argues that it is only after the Taiping Rebellion that ethnic signifiers become dominant in identifying different segments the Empire's population. See Pamela Kyle Crossley "Thinking about ethnicity," p. 28.

[104] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qingdai Nei Menggu nongye de fazhan," *Menggu shi lunwen xuanji*, 5 vols., vol. 3 (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1983), pp.

early Qing administrators drew a territorial buffer zone between the Mongol banners in the Southern Ordos and Chinese provincial territory immediately to the south to separate the two populations. However, although Mongol banners of one type or another completely occupied the territory of southwestern Mongolia and administered Mongol banner subjects, small numbers of Han also lived in the area beyond the Wall. Indeed Altan Khan's original settlement of Hohhot was largely built by Han artisans.[105] At the start of the 1700s, even while Han peasants were prohibited from residing in Mongol areas, the Court tacitly acknowledged the reality of their presence and their role as agriculturalists.[106] In recognition of the growing Han population on the Tumed plain, the Court dispatched its first official to superintend Han-Mongol affairs (*Meng-Min shiwu*) to take up residence in Guihua Town in the first year of the Yongzheng emperor, 1723. This civil commissioner (*lishi tongzhi*) was placed under the closest Chinese provincial administration, Shanxi's Datong Prefecture.[107] In 1741 the Guihua position was boosted to independent sub-prefectural status (*zhili ting*). In the meantime Suiyuan Town Independent Sub-Prefecture was established in 1739 and four other locations on the Tumed plain—Salaqi, Helin'ge'er, Tuoketuo and Qingshuihe—also began to develop embryonic sub-prefectural administrations in the mid-1730s. By 1760 these administrative units had developed another step to form the six independent sub-prefectures of the Guisui Military Circuit (*Guisui bing bei dao*) under Shanxi provincial administration.[108]

In contrast to Mongol leagues and banners, Qing territorial administration in China Proper was divided into a hierarchy of four levels below the imperial capital.[109] The province was the highest ranking of these. China Proper's eighteen provinces were then

233-235.

[105] Jin Qizong and Xiu Jingren, "Hehehaote de xingjian," p. 212.

[106] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qingdai Nei Menggu nongye de fazhan," p. 229.

[107] Several years later the Guihua Town's civil commissioner's superordinate prefecture became Shuoping Prefecture. See Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, p. 229.

[108] Because of its close relationship with the Suiyuan Town garrison, Suiyuan Town Sub-Prefecture was seen as different from the other five sub-prefectures and was often excluded from the conventional tally of the Guisui Circuit's sub-prefectures.

[109] This account of the administrative system is primarily based upon Skinner's exposition. See G. William Skinner, "Cities and the Hierarchy of Local Systems," in G. William Skinner (ed.), *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 301-322. See also Wang Zhonghan's preface in Niu Pinghan (ed.), *Qingdai zhengqu yange zongbiao* (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1990), "Wang xu," p. 1.

subdivided into 77 circuits (*dao*). Circuits "in some respects... resembled specialised offices of the provincial government more than administrative offices of a separate level of territorial hierarchy."[110] Nonetheless, in terms of hierarchy, lower-level administrative units were accountable to the Circuit Intendent (*daotai*) for many matters. The Intendent in turn reported directly to the provincial-level governor or governor-general. Three possibilities existed at the next lower level: the prefecture (*fu*), the independent department (*zhili zhou*), and least commonly, the independent sub-prefecture. The distinction between these three units lay in their "span of control"[111]—the number of subordinate units (for example counties) under each unit's authority. Prefectures averaged the most, independent departments averaged fewer, and independent sub-prefectures possessed no lower-level units of territorial administration. Finally, at the fourth and lowest level of the administrative structure could be found the county (*xian*), dependent department (*san* or *shu zhou*) or, least commonly, the dependent sub-prefecture (*san* or *shu ting*). All three of these lowest level units could exist under a prefecture, whereas dependent departments and dependent sub-prefectures were never under the control of an independent department.

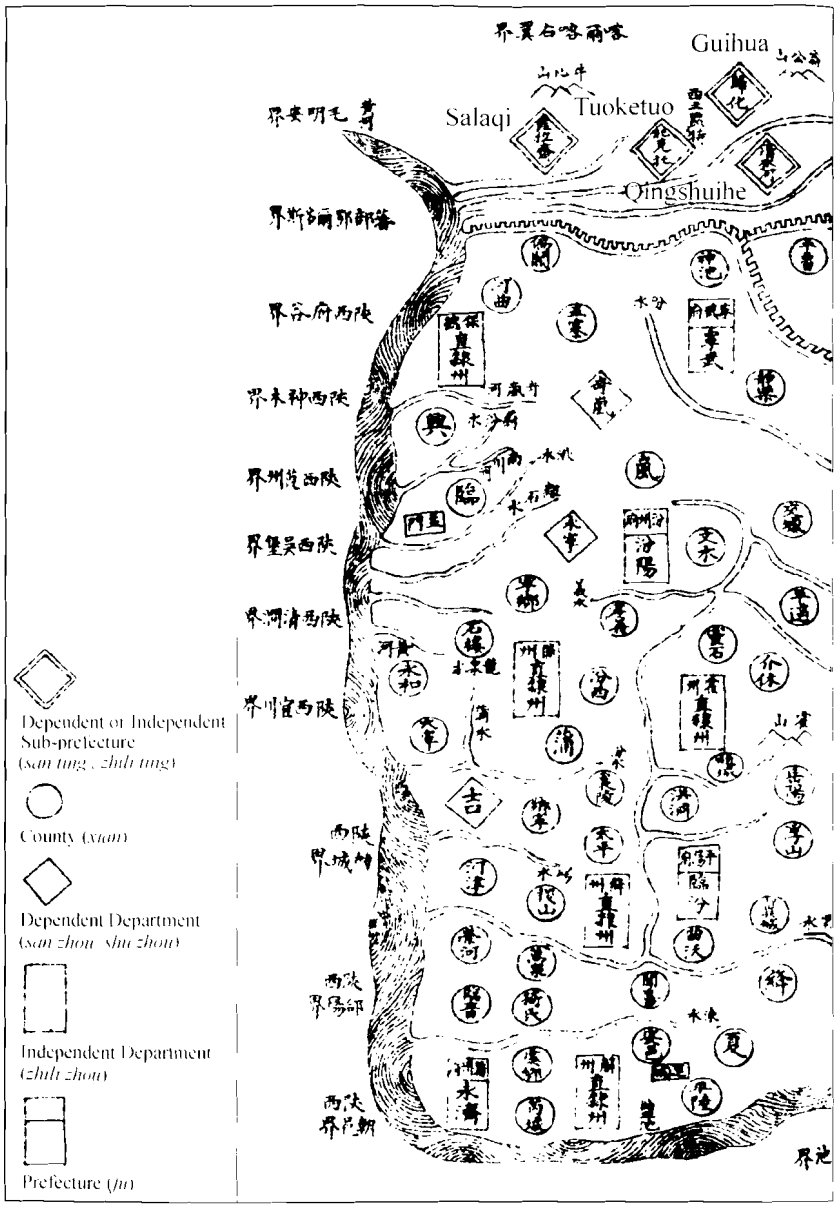
While prefectures, departments and counties were most commonly found throughout China Proper, the establishment of dependent and independent sub-prefectures was a favoured means of incorporating Inner Asian areas bordering on China Proper within the Chinese administrative system.[112] During the eighteenth century sub-prefectures commonly came to be established in southern Mongolian areas contiguous with northern Chinese provinces to administer the substantial numbers of Han peasants that had migrated into such areas.[113] In this way the sub-prefecture began as an adjunct or "transplant" office under the control of a nearby prefecture for the administration of Han populations in areas outside the present system

[110] Skinner, "Cities," p. 302. The question of how to conceptualise the circuit is raised by Wang Zhonghan. See "Wang xu," p. 1. Wang argues that it was after the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns (i.e. after 1820) that the circuit became a proper office of territorial administration. See also Bai Gang (ed.), *Zhongguo zhengzhi zhidu tongshi*, 10 vols., vol. 10, "Qing dynasty" (Beijing: Beijing renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 199-201 for an account of the circuit.

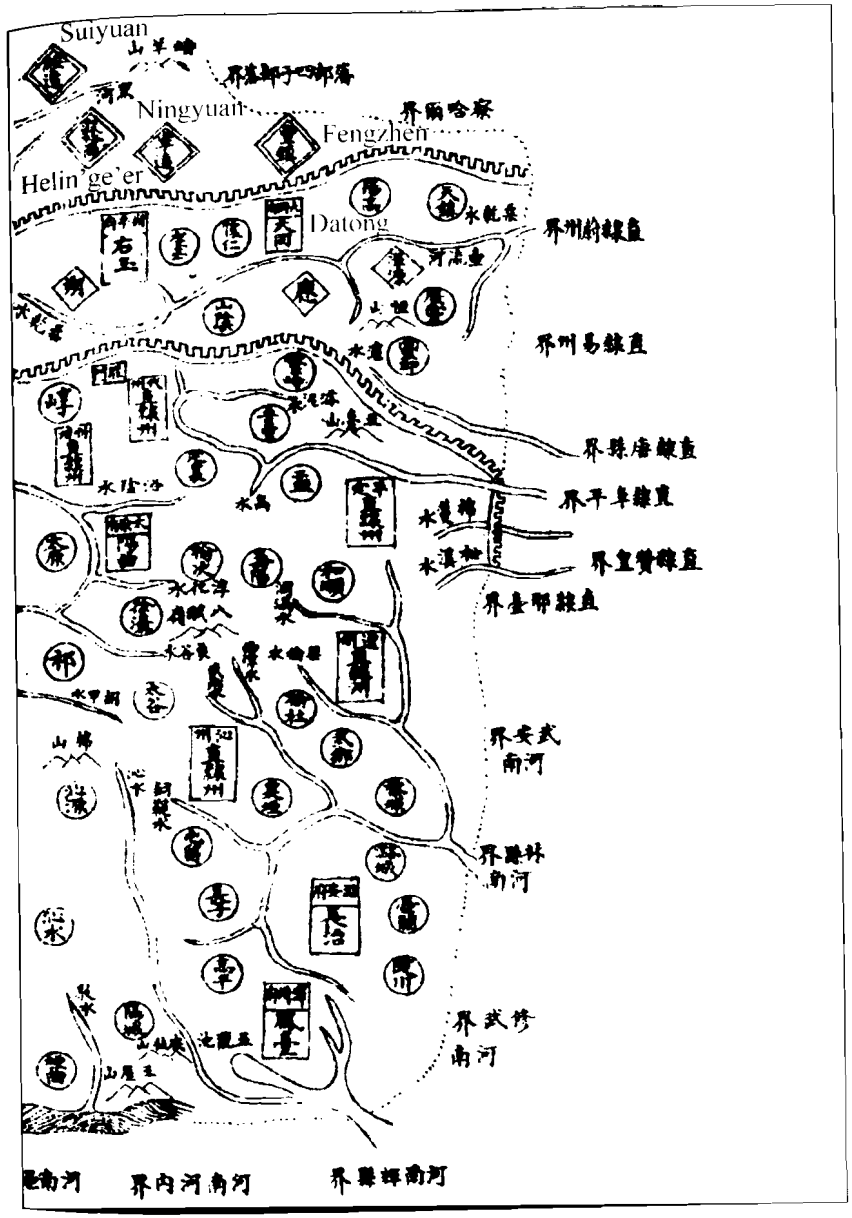
[111] This is Skinner's term.

[112] Skinner, "Cities," p. 303.

[113] Zhang Yongjiang, "Lun Qingdai monan Menggu," pp. 35-36. See also Bai Gang (ed.) *Zhongguo zhengzhi zhidu*, p. 204.



Map 4: Shanxi Province circa 1820 as represented in Jiaqing era edition *Unified Gazetteer* (Left plate)



Right plate

(based on *Jiaqing chongxiu yitong zhi*, vol. 8 pp. 5955-5956)

example those of the Guisui Circuit—gained in status to become independent sub-prefectures. Eventually they could be expected to become regular prefectures or counties. Viewed in this light the sub-prefecture became a type of "transitional" unit of territorial administration.[114] The experience in Eastern Inner Mongolia seems to bear this out; many of the original sub-prefectures established in the eighteenth century becoming prefectures and counties in the nineteenth century.[115] Yet G. William Skinner argues that the structure of the independent sub-prefecture was also particularly suited as a means of administration of "centres vulnerable to military invasions, uprisings or other violent disruptions." The sub-prefecture was an end in itself rather than merely a transitional form. Unlike units of equal status, the prefecture or independent department, the independent sub-prefecture was not burdened with subordinate units of administration. This "narrow span of control" meant

> minimal competition for channels of communication. In military terms the odd arrangement was ideal for the sub-prefect in charge of the strategically important town report[ed] directly to the military circuit intendent or to provincial-level officials rather than indirectly through the prefectural-level *yamen*.[116]

Such an insight is particularly useful in understanding the Guisui six sub-prefectures and possible reasons why they remained as independent sub-prefectures to the end of the dynasty.

As of the early nineteenth century, the Guisui Circuit was one of Shanxi province's four circuits. In contrast to the other three, which were inherited from the former Ming administration, Guisui Circuit was a Qing innovation.[117] Below the four circuits in Shanxi's administrative hierarchy, the six sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit existed alongside nine prefectures and eleven independent departments. At the lowest level Shanxi in the early nineteenth century had over ninety counties, a handful of dependent departments, and two dependent sub-prefectures.[118] The general map of Shanxi from the Jiaqing era *Unified Gazetteer* (see map 4) shows the distribution of territorial administration throughout the province *circa* 1820. In line with Qing administrative practice, all of Shanxi's dependent and independent sub-prefectures were located in the northern extension of

[114] Zhang Yongjiang, "Lun Qingdai monan Menggu," p. 37.
[115] Zhang Yongjiang, "Lun Qingdai monan Menggu," p. 37.
[116] Skinner, "Cities" p. 321.
[117] See Niu Pinghan, *Qing dai zhengqu*, p. 49.
[118] Niu Pinghan, *Qing dai zhengqu*, pp. 51-68.

Shanxi beyond the Great Wall. The six independent sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit—Guihua, Suiyuan, Salaqi, Qingshuihe, Helin'ge'er, and Tuoketuo—are located throughout the territory of the Guihua Town Tumed banners, and the two dependent sub-prefectures of Fengzhen and Ningyuan are located on western sections of Chahar banner territory.[119] This overlap of Mongol and Han administrative spaces was known from the Shanxi perspective as *Jin bian*, the "Shanxi borderlands," or the sub-prefectures "beyond the Pass" (*kou wai*).

As with figures for Mongol banners, population figures for sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit are impressionistic for much of the period before the late nineteenth century. The *Newly Compiled Gazetteer of Qingshuihe Sub-Prefecture* compiled in the 1870s quotes sub-prefectural records from the Qianlong era (1736-1795) and gives a figure of 16,500 people registered under the Sub-Prefecture in this period.[120] The *Unified Gazetteer* quotes a figure of 120,776 for the numbers of Han living within the Guisui Circuit in the early 19th century.[121] Clearly by the end of the eighteenth century Han peasants outnumbered the local population of Mongols on the Tumed plain. A particular feature of this population was the high level of transiency. Many peasants came from nearby counties in Shanxi province and worked lands on the plain seasonally, "arriving in the Spring and leaving in the Autumn" (*chun zhi qiu hui*). By this stage too, well-established villages of Han peasants living permanently on the plain also existed.[122]

Mongol/Han Interaction

Territorial overlap between Mongol and Han political space, then, was a feature of administration—particularly on the Tumed plain—from the early eighteenth century onwards. Jurisdictionally the different systems of administration were responsible for different populations and remained separate. There were, however, areas of interface

[119] As dependent sub-prefectures, these two fell under the command of adjacent prefectures: Fengzhen under Datong Prefecture and Ningyuan under Shuoping Prefecture. As we shall see in Chapter Two, after 1884 this arrangement changed.
[120] Wen Xiu and Lu Menglan (ed.), *Xin xiu Qingshuihe ting zhi* (1883 Reprint edition Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), 14th juan.
[121] Quoted in Song Naigong (ed.), *Zhongguo renkou (Nei Menggu fence)*, p. 49.
[122] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qingdai Nei Menggu nongye de fazhan," *Menggu shi lunwen xuanji* vol. 3, p. 225.

between Han and Mongol administrations and populations. Indeed, as has been remarked above, the original purpose of stationing officials from Shanxi on the Tumed plain was to deal with relations between Han and Mongols. Legal disputes and land relations remained the two most important areas of Han-Mongol interaction. From 1760 the Court began to allow the sub-prefectural magistrate in Guihua Town to investigate some local Mongol criminal cases and conflicts between Mongol and Han, and to reach a verdict in consultation with local Mongol authorities. With purely Mongol cases, officials had to report to the Lifanyuan via the Suiyuan General. Mixed cases involving both Han and Mongol, on the other hand, were to be reported to the Lifanyuan via the Shanxi Governor-General.[123] In the same year the Salaqi Sub-Prefect gained the responsibility for Han merchants operating in the three Urad banners of Ulaanchab League and matters involving Han and Mongol in these banners.[124] The Lifanyuan also stipulated that the sub-prefectural *yamen* of the Guisui Circuit employ a fixed number of officials skilled in writing Manchu and Mongolian selected from among local Tumed Banner students to facilitate communication.[125]

Land Relations

The presence of Han peasants in southwestern Mongolia and the development of Chinese-style administrative units to govern them was a result of the growth of agriculture in the area. From the late 1600s through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Qing government in varying degrees pursued a "prohibitionist" policy on the agricultural cultivation of Mongol lands.[126] In general Mongol lands were to be kept pristine and separate from the China Proper section of the empire. Chiefly Mongol pastures were to remain uncultivated so as not to interfere with Mongol livelihood.[127] Official expediency and practical problems controlling population movements beyond the passes,

[123] *Lifanyuan zeli*, 43rd juan, p. 333.
[124] Zhou Qingshu, (ed.) *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, p. 200.
[125] *Lifanyuan zeli*, 6th juan, p. 104.
[126] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qing dai Nei Menggu nongye," pp. 233-43.
[127] See for example the Suiyuan General's argument against Zhang Zhidong's proposed reform of the Guisui Circuit sub-prefectures in 1884 (the following chapter examines these reforms), found in various memorials in Xing Yijian (ed.), *Qing ji Menggu shi lu*, 3 volumes (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu shehuikexueyuan Menggu lishi yanjiusuo, 1981), vol. 3, pp. 157-160.

however, led to contraventions of this policy and, from the 1700s, agriculture grew in importance in Mongol areas bordering northern China.

The Tumed plain was one of the earliest areas of southwestern Mongolia to experience agricultural development. Already by the mid-eighteenth century agriculture was well established in the area. Two forms of agricultural development during the Qing need to be distinguished. First was the imperially-sanctioned requisitions of areas of Guihua Town Tumed Banner pasture land for agriculture. Such areas of land were set aside and agriculturalised for various state purposes. Along with the building of Suiyuan Town garrison in the mid-1730s as part of strategic preparations for the campaign against the Zunghars, the Yongzheng emperor ordered the tilling of 40,000 *qing* of Guihua Town Tumed Banner land for military provisioning. Peasants from Shanxi were then brought to till this land.[128] As the *Tumed Banner Gazetteer* reveals, this land was divided between various sub-prefectures for management. Again, at the same time that Guihua Town Tumed Banner pasture lands were requisitioned for the breeding of horses for the Suiyuan garrison (so called "Eight Banner land"), areas of Tumed Banner land were also set aside for the growing of grain to provision this garrison.[129] Generally this type of acreage was termed "grain land" (*liang di*) because peasants remitted the yearly rent to authorities in grain. Ownership and usage rights of this land were extremely unclear. The institution survived into the Chinese Republic and presented great difficulties to land reclamation officials clarifying land relations and measuring acreage in the 1920s to incorporate such land into official registers.[130]

Second, there was the practice of de-facto or private cultivation of land (*si ken*). This was the illegal rental or ownership and cultivation of Mongol banner lands by Chinese peasants who had ventured beyond the passes of the Great Wall in search of land and livelihood. In the case of the two Guihua Town Tumed banners this was facilitated by the institution of *hukou di* or "household land:" standardised parcels of land of five *qing* (1 *qing* = 100 *mu* or roughly 6.11 hectares) granted to Tumed Mongol males in the early Qing in

[128] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qing dai Nei Menggu nongye," p 231.
[129] *Tumote qi zhi*, 5th juan. Anzai Kuraji examines this in An-zhai-ku-zhi (Anzai Kuraji), "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," *Menggu shi yanjiu cankao ziliao*, no. 6 (1963), p. 28.
[130] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* (Guisui, 1933), Section 4, p. 8.

exchange for compulsory military services. Entitlements to such land was hereditary.[131] In 1743 the Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief memorialised the Court voicing fears about the absorption capacity of the area in the face of continuous agriculturalisation. In response the Court ordered a survey which found that, out of a total of 75,048 *qing* of agricultural and pastoral land in the two banners, 4,000 *qing* had already been leased in some shape or form to Han peasants. In response to the findings of the survey, the Qianlong emperor reaffirmed the right of Tumed Mongols to Household land and ordered that all such land that had become alienated from Mongol possession due to debt should be restored to its original holders.[132] Nonetheless income from land rented to Han peasants grew increasingly important for the livelihood of Tumed Mongols through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

A much weaker system of Mongol entitlements to land applied in the four Chahar right banners. Chahar banner pastures were looked upon primarily as "government land" (*guan di*), with Chahar Mongols using the land to provide military animals and animal products to the Court and the central imperial bureaucracy. Despite the much weaker Mongol claim to control of this land, parcels of land in this region were also "privately reclaimed" (i.e. illegally rented out to Han peasants) from the 1760s onwards through the 1800s. Chahar banner land was also the site of numerous horse grazing pastures which the Court granted to royal clansmen and Mongol princes and nobles. These pastures came to be gradually rented out privately to Han peasants. The Suiyuan garrison grain office was another of the main "private" renters of Chahar land to peasants.[133] The Shanxi provincial government established a Fengzhen-Ningyuan Land Mortgage Office to oversee this process in 1886.[134]

Yet another form of property relations and rights existed in the thirteen banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues. As with political administration a more autonomous situation existed. Here rights over the use and alienation of land were acknowledged to reside with individual banners and their princes. Most commonly the banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu had varying proportions and combinations of

[131] On this institution and the theoretical and practical limits of Tumed Mongol land property rights during the Qing see Huang Shijian, "Qing dai Baotou diqu tudi wenti shang de zu yu dian," in *Menggu shi lunwen xuanji*, vol. 3, pp. 283-284.

[132] Quoted in Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qing dai Nei Menggu nongye" p. 237.

[133] An-zhai-ku-zhi ,"Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 13.

[134] An-zhai-ku-zhi ,"Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 14.

land owned by monasteries or temples, land owned by the banner prince, land held in common by the banner, and Household land much the same as in the Guihua Town Tumed banners. The situation varied widely from banner to banner.[135] In general, however, the private leasing of such lands to Han peasants was acknowledged at least in a tacit sense to be a banner matter.

In the southern Ordos region the narrow ribbon of land which ran north of the line of the Great Wall initially established as a buffer zone between Yeke-juu League and northern China quickly became known as "black boundary land" (*heijie di*) and, by the mid-1700s, had become agricultural land tilled by Han peasants from adjacent counties south of the Wall. These peasants remained subject to these counties. Han peasants from Ningxia Prefecture in Gansu were also active on the eastern banks of the Yellow River where they leased land from Otog Banner.[136] By the later 1700s small numbers of Han peasants were also reported in the territory of the three Urad banners and Dorben Keukhed Banner in Ulaanchab league.[137] Most importantly, the Houtao region—principally the territories of Dalad and Khanggin banners—began to receive Han peasants in the early nineteenth century. Unregulated settlement and agriculturalisation of this region particularly took off in the period after the Yellow River burst its banks in 1850 in the northern section of the Great Bend and channeled water along a course north of its original bed through the Houtao region. The digging of extensive irrigation works began in the wake of this development.[138]

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed Qing order as it came into being in an area of southwestern Mongolia contiguous with Shanxi, Shaanxi, and

[135] See Suiyuan tong zhi guan (ed.), *Suiyuan tong zhi gao*, 119 vols, 100 juan (manuscript copy of 1971, revised draft at Library of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot) (hereafter abbreviated as *STZG* manuscript), 21st juan for an overview. See also Gan Pengyun, *Diaocha Guisui kenwu baogao shu* (no publisher, 1917), which gives details of the situation in different banners. Also An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," passim.

[136] See *Yi meng tong zhi*, p. 65. The chief Chinese source for information on Han peasant land colonisation in the Ordos is Zhang Pengyi, *Hetao tu zhi*, 4th juan, passim. Anzai Kuraji also provides some analysis in his chapter on land reclamation in Yeke-juu league in An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken,"pp. 26-28.

[137] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qing dai Nei Menggu nongye," p. 253.

[138] An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken,"p. 27.

Gansu provinces. Separation and differentiation of populations and jurisdictions and the non-continuity of territory lay at the heart of this system of spatial organisation. Southwestern Mongolia was recognised primarily as the territory of different types of Mongol banners, though policy makers recognised the de facto presence of Han in the area and created specialised administrative offices to manage their affairs. A Manchu military official, the Suiyuan Town General, oversaw security and order throughout Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues and directly supervised the affairs of the Guihua Town Tumed banners. As the above narrative makes clear, however, the Qing empire was not a static and unchanging entity. Great change occurred in the makeup and conceptualisation of this Inner Asian segment of empire in the roughly two and a half centuries of Qing rule. As James Millward in his examination of Qing imperialism in Xinjiang argues

> an entity called Qing is in imperial command at the beginning of the story. Gradually, however, a cultural and political unit we call China usurps the controls and, after some near mishaps, by the mid-twentieth century sits securely in the driver's seat of what was formerly a Qing vehicle.[139]

In the following chapter we examine the gradual re-conceptualisation of this area during the second half of the nineteenth century and its administrative remaking as the new territorial entity of Suiyuan.

[139] James Millward, *Beyond the Pass*, p. 17.

CHAPTER TWO

TERRITORIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH

In January 1914 the president of the Republic of China, Yuan Shikai, declared the establishment of the Suiyuan Special Administrative Region (SSAR). The new Region was to be headed by a military governor appointed by the central government. The territorial form of the SSAR rivaled in size some of the largest provinces in China Proper, and came from the combination of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues and the Guihua Town Tumed banner. Administratively, however, the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab were excluded from the direct rule of the SSAR's government. These units of Inner Mongolian administration remained under the jurisdiction of the Republican successor to the *Lifanbu* (as the Lifanyuan was renamed in the last decade of the Qing), the Beijing government's Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs (*Meng Zang shiwuyuan*).[1] Instead the sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit, now known as counties and excised from Shanxi provincial administrative control, formed the central administrative component of the new Region. The twin towns were now merged to become the SSAR's capital, Guisui.

The new administrative unit of Suiyuan came into being and developed as a separate territorial entity in two ways. Suiyuan in its primary sense was a project of land conversion. This process, termed land reclamation (*kaiken*), aimed at the turning of Mongol pastoral land into agricultural fields tilled by Han peasants, will be examined in detail in the next chapter. As a corollary, Suiyuan gained its territoriality by the expansion and elaboration of Chinese-style administration and administrative units in the area in the late Qing and Republican periods. Agriculturalised land became the territory of new counties, and in turn the growing numbers of counties contributed to Suiyuan's territorial bulk. The result of both processes was a shift

[1] The implications of this arrangement and the fate of the Guihua Town Tumed banners in the Republic are examined in detail in Chapter Five. The Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs was established in April 1914. On its administrative evolution in the Republic see Wang Desheng, "Beiyang junfa dui Meng zhengce jige wenti de chuxi," *Nei Menggu jindai shi luncong*, vol. 3, p. 52.

away from the earlier Qing principle which emphasised the primacy of Mongol possession of place in southwestern Mongolia. As Mongol grazing lands became ploughed fields, Chinese local administrations were superimposed upon the same territory claimed by Mongol banner administrations, and Han peasants became recognised as natives of these areas. The total extinguishment of Mongol political and territorial space was never fully achieved; however, the development of Suiyuan's territoriality occurred directly at the expense of the earlier Qing model of separate Mongol space.

This chapter will concentrate upon the governmental elaboration of Suiyuan on two levels. The first section looks at the multiplication of Chinese-style territorial units of local government—the growing number of sub-prefectures (*ting*) and, after 1911, counties (*xian*) and preliminary counties (*shezhiju*) of the area. These formed the core of the notion of Suiyuan as a territorial administration and tripled in number in the period from the 1880s to the early 1930s. The second section examines the development of Suiyuan as a quasi-provincial government unit, and after 1929, as a formally recognised province. The approach of this chapter is to move between three interrelated themes: the growth of Chinese-style government and administration in the area, the reflection and representation of these changes in the production of gazetteers and other writing on Suiyuan and its components at the time and, finally, the wider elements of Chinese nationalist discourse in which Suiyuan's administrative and territorial elaboration were ultimately situated.

The Spread Of Local Administration

Ru bantu: *Acquiring Chinese Administrative Territoriality*

For much of the century after its establishment in 1760 the Guisui Circuit remained a remote and unmodified extension of Shanxi provincial authority beyond the Wall. The first specifically local gazetteer-style account of the area to emerge, *Brief Records of Ancient Feng*, was compiled in 1859. As the original compiler explained, the gazetteer's title was taken from a dedicatory tablet written by the Kangxi emperor (r. 1661-1722) for a temple in Guihua: "We consider Guihua Town to be the territory of the ancient Fengzhou."[2] Pre-Qing

[2] Zhang Zeng, *Gu Feng shi lüe* (1859), quoted in Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi kaoshu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1998), p. 55. Fengzhou was a territorial administration in the Sui and Tang dynasties, another Fengzhou existed in the area during the Liao dynasty.

historical geography and Chinese place names of the distant past now came to assume a greater importance in the administrative naming of territory and orientation of this area beyond the Pass. Perhaps as an indication of difficulties in reconciling the different facets of the area, although the *Brief Records* gave details on life in Guihua at the time, around a quarter of this gazetteer comprised copied extracts from the frontier specialist Wei Yuan's writings, *Record of Our Dynasty's Subjugation of Mongolia* and *Record of the Kangxi Emperor's Campaign against the Zunghars*. Although both were important accounts of the establishment of Qing order in Inner Asia, they had nothing directly to do with the local area.[3]

The local world of the Guisui Circuit emerged more tangibly as other gazetteers were compiled in this period: the *Brief Account of Guisui* based in part on the gazetteer just discussed and completed in 1861, the very short *Brief Gazetteer of Helin'ge'er Sub-Prefecture* written in 1872, and the *New Revised Qingshuihe Sub-prefectural Gazetteer* of 1883 all provided textual substance to the existence of Chinese administration in the area.[4] This last gazetteer was compiled in response to the Shanxi governor Zeng Guoquan's order in 1879 for local authorities to update and revise existing prefectural and county gazetteers in preparation for the compilation of a new edition of the Shanxi provincial gazetteer.[5] This gazetteer in particular provides an insight into the question of how the relationship between local Mongols and Han and the question of possession of place was viewed at this time. The idea of *ru bantu*—to be entered onto the jurisdictional map, or to become part of Chinese administrative territory—is important for establishing the territoriality of Qingshuihe Sub-Prefecture.[6] However, clearly Qingshuihe's subject population has yet to be recognised as belonging to the area:

[3] Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi*, p. 56; On Wei Yuan (1794-1856) see Susan Mann Jones and Philip Kuhn, "Dynastic decline and the roots of rebellion," in John King Fairbank (ed.), *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10: Late Ch'ing 1800-1911 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 155-162 (hereafter the general title of these volumes will be abbreviated as *CHC*).

[4] Zhang Zeng (comp.), *Gusui shi lüe* (1861); Chen Yupu (comp.), *Helin'ge'er ting zhi lue* (1871); Wen Xiu and Lu Menglan (comp.), *Xin xiu Qingshuihe ting zhi* (1883, Reprint Edition, Taipei: Chengwen Press, 1968), all cited in Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi*, pp. 275-276.

[5] See text of this instruction in Wen Xiu and Lu Menglan, *Xin xiu Qingshuihe ting zhi*, 1st juan, 2nd, 3rd page (pp. 3-6).

[6] Millward discusses the term *ru bantu* in the context of Qing expansion in

> Qingshui[he] is a backward place in a border region. Originally it was Mongol grazing lands, up until Our [dynasty's emperor] Kangxi pacified both middle and outside and it appeared on the jurisdictional map (*ru bantu*). From the start of the Qianlong emperor's reign administrative posts have been created to administer affairs [in the area].[7]

Or again and in slight contradiction in terms of chronology:

> The department (*jun*) of Qing[shuihe] was originally outer dependent territory up until our dynasty's Yongzheng period [1723-1735], when it commenced to appear on the jurisdictional map (*ru bantu*). Because the Civilians [*minren* i.e Han] are not natives (*tu zhu*), schools have never been established.[8]

Mongols are acknowledged in different places as the original inhabitants and in the gazetteer's section on population, local Han inhabitants are identified by the counties from which they originated in Shanxi province:

> All of Qingshuihe Sub-Prefecture was originally Mongol pasture and the people are not natives. All inhabitants are from the proximate prefectures and counties inside the border wall [i.e. Great Wall], and attracted [to the area] to colonise land (*kaiken*). The majority are from the counties of Pianguan and Pinglu [in Shanxi Province].[9]

Up until this time, as the Qingshuihe gazetteer attests, if Han living in southwestern Mongolia retained an official "provenance" (*jiguan* i.e. fixed native-place identity derived from place of birth and expressed at the level of the county), it was of the original county in China Proper from where they or their forebears first came. Yet even as this gazetteer was being compiled, as we shall see below, the situation was to change.

The late Qing period was a time of much modification to the basic assumptions and attitudes towards the Inner Asian component of the empire. The post-Taiping emperorships—the Tongzhi (1862-74), Guangxu (1875-1908), and finally Xuantong (1908- 1912) reigns were all regencies—where a "consortium of reformist aristocrats and

Xinjiang and argues that it means at its most literal, "to be entered on population register and map." See James A. Millward, "'Coming onto the Map': 'Western Regions' Geography and Cartographic Nomenclature in the Making of Chinese Empire in Xinjiang," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 20, no. 2 (December 1999), p. 62.

[7] Wen Xiu and Lu Menglan, *Xin xiu Qingshuihe ting zhi*, *xu wen*, 1st page, (pp. 11-12).

[8] Wen Xiu and Lu Menglan, *Xin xiu Qingshuihe ting zhi*, 8th juan 3rd page, (p. 209).

[9] Wen Xiu and Lu Menglan, *Xin xiu Qingshuihe ting zhi*, 14th juan 1st page, (p. 268).

military men, independently powerful civilian governors, and a small number of foreign advisors" exercised a decisive influence upon court policy.[10] Imperial decision-making was now in the hands of officials with a perspective on Inner Asian imperial territory quite different to that of the Qianlong emperor's classical formulation. The growing territorial threat from the Russian Romanov Empire which had expanded into Inner Asia in much the same time frame as the Qing rulers had consolidated their empire was another important impetus for such change. Inner Asian territory contiguous with Russia now came to be viewed increasingly as threatened frontier territory.

The response on the part of Qing political elites centred upon the rise of specialist frontier studies associated with the statecraft school.[11] Two main results became evident. First was the production of detailed geographical, ethnographic, and historical knowledge concerning the Inner Asian segment of the empire designed to be of practical use for administrators and defenders of the imperial borderlands. In the context of Mongolia such important works as Zhang Mu's *Record of Mongol Nomads* completed in the 1840s but first published in 1867 gave a systematic and detailed overview of the geography and boundaries of the banners and leagues of Outer, Inner, and "Oirat" Mongolias.[12] The second result was the growth in calls and proposals for the reorganization of the administration of Inner Asian areas. Such an overhaul, its many proponents argued, would re-vitalise frontier areas and strengthen defensive security in the face of Russian encroachment. From the 1880s to the end of the dynasty such proposals focused upon the strengthening and increase in the numbers of Chinese administrative units in border areas: from counties and sub-prefectures to grand plans for the division of Inner Asia into a series of provinces as existed in China Proper.[13] The establishment of the new province of Xinjiang in 1884 was the most spectacular example of this reorganising of administration in an important segment of Inner Asia. New policy concerning Shanxi's extra-mural

[10] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchus* (Cambridge, Mass., Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1997), p. 177.

[11] On statecraft scholarship and frontier defence see Jones and Kuhn, "Dynastic decline and the roots of rebellion," pp. 155-162.

[12] Zhang Mu and He Qiutao, *Menggu youmu ji* (1868, Reprint Edition, Taibei: Wenhai, 1965). The text does not exhaustively cover all of what constituted Qing Mongolia. Mongol banners in what became Xinjiang are excluded, as are the various banners which belonged to "Court Mongolia."

[13] Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qing mo Nei Menggu de difang jianzhi yu chouhua jian sheng 'shi bian'" *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu*, 1998 no. 1, pp. 16-17.

administrations in Southern Mongolia emerged in this context of altering assumptions about the value, meaning and ordering of imperial Inner Asia.

Nativisation

In October 1882, in his first year as the governor of Shanxi, the influential reformer Zhang Zhidong memorialised the Court urging a thorough overhaul in the administration of the province's seven extra-mural (*kouwai*) sub-prefectures.[14] Zhang's memorial presented a picture of a border area that needed to be taken in hand:

> Guihua is the leader of the seven. Internally it controls [the territory of the] Tumeds, its external boundary, the Daqing mountains, neighbours on the various Outer Jasagh tribes. The land is fertile, its aspect is immense and magnificent. Civilians and Mongols live intermingled throughout the area, customs are rude, and [governmental] affairs are troublesome. Salaqi makes up the extreme northwestern borderlands of Shanxi. In the north it covers Outer Dependent [territory], in the west it joins with the Hetao where the overland and river transport routes of merchants converge. These two sub-prefectures now experience matters involving foreign [i.e. western] trade and churches..... Fengzhen in the east borders on Zhangjiakou. It occupies [the territory of the] Chahars, and is the door to Datong. It is ringed with pastoral farms and crowded with transients [*liumin*]; there are also many matters related to foreign churches... Land reclamation in Ningyuan increases by the day... there are now plans to construct a postal station there. Tuoketuo is bounded [on one side] by the Yellow River where the boats of merchants from beyond the borders are driven downstream; [it is] the strategic throat of the waterway to [river] ports in Shanxi... Helin'ge'er is mountainous and customs are rough, the majority of grain growers in this area evade taxes. It is also the northern route to Guihua and Salaqi. Qingshuihe's [boundary] follows the Great Wall, the people are disorderly...[15]

Soon after his arrival to take up the governorship, Zhang had identified "reform of frontier administration" (*xiu bian zheng*) as an

[14] Zhang Zhidong, "Chou yi qi ting gai zhi shi xuan zhe," 29 October 1882, *Zhang Wenxiang gong ji*, 6 volumes (Taibei, Wenhai chubanshe, 1963) (hereafter abbreviated as *ZWX*), 6th juan, 23rd page (vol. 1, p. 183). As has been discussed in Chapter One, the anomalous purpose of Suiyuan Town Sub-Prefecture often led to its exclusion from the tally of administrative units comprising the Guisui Circuit. Zhang does not include it in his overview of the situation which is quoted here.

[15] Zhang Zhidong, "Chou yi qi ting gai zhi shi yi zhe," 6th juan, 23rd page (vol. 1, p. 183).

important matter on his list of reforms for Shanxi.[16] In this and other memorials Zhang cited a host of reasons for reform of the Shanxi border sub-prefectures: the venality and incompetence of local officials, lawlessness, and the illegal private renting of land to Han peasants by banner princes. Zhang also pointed to a fundamental change that had occurred in the population balance on the Tumed plain, where Han now outnumbered Mongols and there was a need for educational development of Shanxi's extra-mural region. Moreover the increasing presence of Russian traders in Guihua alongside the penetration of western missionaries into the area exposed the sub-prefectures to the uncertainty and security concerns posed by foreign contact and thrust Shanxi's "border affairs" (*bian wu*) into a new context of foreign threat.[17] Correspondingly, in such changed circumstances, Shanxi's extra-mural sub-prefectures required administrative reform.

To streamline administration beyond the Wall, Zhang urged combining the two sub-prefectures of Fengzhen and Ningyuan (at the time part of Shanxi's Yanping Circuit) with the sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit, to expand the Guisui Circuit to eight sub-prefectures.[18] Sub-prefectural administrations were also to be reformed and elevated in official rankings of administrative importance. Most importantly, Zhang proposed that the local Han population be registered as belonging to the sub-prefectures of the area (*bian ru ji*). Zhang termed such populations as "guests in temporary residence" (*kemin ji ju*) and explained that "although they have lived [in the area] for several generations... these people have no fixed names or official provenance..." Such a situation lent itself to disorder where "the good and the bad live cheek by jowl."[19] Zhang emphasised the lack of governmental control in this situation. The Han population of the Tumed plain were difficult to organise into the *baojia* system of household control, and hard to even count accurately in a periodic census. The recognition of these populations as officially belonging to

[16] See for example Zhang Zhidong, "Zheng chi zhili zhe," 26 July 1882, *ZWX*, 4th juan, 23rd page (vol. 1 p. 146).

[17] See variously, Zhang Zhidong, "Dao Shanxi ren xie en zhe," 4 February 1882; "Zheng chi zhili zhe," 26 July 1882; "Qing biantong bian que zhe," 11 September 1882; in *ZWX*, 4th juan, 1st page (p. 135); 4th juan, 22nd page (p. 145); 5th juan, 23rd -26th page (pp. 166-167) respectively.

[18] This figure includes the Suiyuan Town Sub-Prefecture. Most commonly, however, the newly expanded Guisui Circuit was referred to as "the seven sub-prefectures beyond the Pass" (*kouwai qi ting*).

[19] Zhang Zhidong, "Chou yi qi ting," *ZWX* 6th juan, 27th page (p. 185).

the extra-mural sub-prefectures would aid in the revitalisation of these administrations and the tightening of governmental control in an area of increasing importance from the perspective of national defence.

Zhang proposed that those Han living within the boundaries of the sub-prefectures ("those within the boundaries of the Tumed and Chahar banners") should be formally classified by sub-prefectural administrations into three categories: grain tax payers (*liang hu*), property holders (*ye hu*), and transients (*ji hu*). The first two categories should all be automatically registered as natives. The property-less transients, if living in the area for a long time and if willing, should also be registered as natives. Han living outside the boundaries of the sub-prefectures on the contiguous Mongol banner lands of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues should be monitored and registered once a year by the closest sub-prefecture. Mongols would remain as banner subjects and would not be entered into the sub-prefectural registers of population.[20] To reinforce this new closer incorporation of the frontier sub-prefectures as a regular part of Shanxi's administrative geography and indeed that of China Proper, Zhang also recommended that the sub-prefectures each be given a quota of dedicated civil service exam graduateships (*xue e*) for local talent like the quotas existing for counties throughout China Proper.[21] Up until this time, because of the de facto status of local Han, civil service hopefuls had no choice but to travel back to an ancestral native place within the Pass to take the examinations. The Court acceded to the proposals.

Zhang's reforms had profound implications for the politics of possession on the Tumed plain. In February 1884 the Suiyuan Town General Feng Shen and the Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief Kui Ying, obviously in response to protests from Tumed Mongol banner elites, memorialised the Court that the Han nativisation component of the reforms "was harmful to the banners' nomadic herding" and that Mongols had been stirred into alarm and fear by the changes. The two officials requested that the five original sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit be returned to their previous status, and that the nativisation be reversed.[22] In response Zhang

[20] Zhang Zhidong, "Chou yi qi ting," *ZWX* 6th juan, 27th page (p. 185).
[21] Zhang Zhidong, "Chou yi qi ting," *ZWX* 6th juan, 23rd page (p. 183).
[22] Zhang Zhidong, "Kou wai bianji wu ai youmu zhe," 24 February 1884, in *ZWX*, 8th juan, 9th-10th pages (p. 214). The conflict can be followed in the extracts from memorials collected in Xing Yijian (ed.), *Qing ji Menggu shi lu*, 3 vols (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu shehui kexueyuan Menggu lishi yanjiusuo, 1981) (hereafter abbreviated as *QJMSL*) vol. 3, pp. 157-160.

Zhidong dispatched officials to investigate and mounted a defence of the changes. Zhang argued that the change in status of local Han was not aimed at alienating local Mongol rights to land: it was simply a recognition of the fact that Han had been in the region for many years and their numbers were growing. The registration of these people as natives of the sub-prefectures was a measure designed to increase governmental controls over this population. Indeed such a move would enhance and protect Mongol interests by providing sub-prefectural authorities with a more accurate means of stopping the flow of transients "congregating like deer upon Mongol land."[23] So in intention and effect the nativisation of civilians would not compromise Mongol grazing and land use rights, but instead enhance the peaceful coexistence of Han and Mongol. Second, and more fundamentally, Zhang implicitly challenged the priority and the special claims of Mongols to native status on the Tumed plain by reminding the Qing court of the historical geography of the area:

> To the south of the Daqing Mountains, east and west of Guihua Town in an area stretching for several thousand *li*, since the *Yuanshuo* period of the Former Han dynasty [i.e. 129 to 121 BCE] the area has long been divided into commandaries and counties (*jun xian*) [i.e. the classical expression of Chinese territorial administration], it is within the boundaries of the three [former] commandaries of Dingxiang, Wuyuan, and Yunzhong.[24]

Zhang here introduced an ancient landscape of Chinese-style administrative units into the question of possession of place. The power of historical geographic understandings of this territory was to grow from this time onwards.

Sub-Prefectural Growth in the Late Qing Period

Shanxi officials continued to be involved in the spread of sub-prefectural administration in the area. In 1902, Zhao Erxun, then holding the powerful position of Shanxi Provincial Administrative Commissioner (*buzheng shi*) argued that in the context of increasing land colonisation of these areas, "without the division of [existing] sub-prefectures and establishment of new administrations, it would be difficult to achieve lasting order."[25] The next year the Court decreed

[23] Zhang Zhidong, "Kou wai bianji," *ZWX*, 8th juan, 15th page (p. 217.).
[24] Zhang Zhidong, "Kou wai bianji," *ZWX*, 8th juan, 15th page (p. 217.).
[25] Quoted in Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qing mo Nei Menggu de difang jianzhi," p 19. As Wu-yun-ge-ri-le explains, Zhao Erxuan was a frontier specialist. Three years later, as

that officials be sent to create four new sub-prefectures out of sections of territory formally under the control of the four most populous of the existing sub-prefectures. Han peasants living in areas north of the Daqing mountains and formerly subject to Guihua Town now became

Table 2: The Sub-Prefectures of the Guisui Circuit at the end of the Qing Period

Name	Date of Establishment	Name Source
Guihua	1723	"Return to Civilisation," Chinese, Confucian-influenced frontier name
Suiyuan	1739	"Pacification of the Remote," Chinese, Confucian-influenced frontier name
Qingshuihe	1723	Chinese name for local river
Salaqi	1727	Mongolian place name
Tuoketuo	1723	Mongolian place name
Helin'ge'er	1723	Mongolian place name
Fengzhen	1751	Combination of Chinese names of two former Ming guard posts
Ningyuan	1751	Combination of Chinese names of two former Ming guard posts
Wuyuan	1903	Han dynasty commandary
Wuchuan	1903	Northern Wei dynasty town
Xinghe	1903	Yuan dynasty route
Taolin	1903	Han dynasty county
Dongsheng	1907	Liao dynasty prefecture

SOURCE: Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, passim; and *STZG* 1971, first juan, part 2

registered in the new Wuchuan Sub-Prefecture. This was the first Qing sub-prefecture to be established beyond the psychological line of the Daqing mountains. The growing population of the Houtao region, up until that time subject to Salaqi administration, now became part of Wuyuan Sub-Prefecture. Meanwhile in the eastern, post-1884 extension of the Guisui Circuit, the two new sub-prefectures of Xinghe

the Shengjing General, Zhao contributed to the modification of administration in Fengtian. Hucker describes the position of Administrative Commissioner as "a virtual lieutenant governor" within provincial administration. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985) pp. 88-89.

and Taolin were excised out of Fengzhen and Ningyuan jurisdictions respectively. Finally in 1907 the sub-prefecture of Dongsheng was created in Yeke-juu League in a land reclamation area straddling Ordos Left Middle or Wang Banner. This brought the total of sub-prefectures in the Guisui Circuit up to twelve and decisively pushed Chinese-style territorial administration out beyond the confines of the directly-ruled banners of Court Mongolia into the territory of the Inner Jasagh banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues.

Several other important contrasts with the earlier Qing order are apparent when examining the establishment and profiles of the new units. As we have seen, the older sub-prefectures of the Tumed plain were expressly established to oversee "Civilian-Mongol affairs." Although the new sub-prefectures also had this purpose, the facilitation of land colonisation was an important new stated purpose for the establishment of these administrations.[26] The reforms of 1884 granting official provenance to Guisui Circuit's sub-prefectural populations also ensured that the new administrative subjects of the new sub-prefectures were enrolled as "natives" from the start. Finally quite different sources were used in naming the new administrations (see Table 2). The names of the original sub-prefectures came in large measure from Mongol names or from exigencies of the time. Salaqi, Tuoketuo, and Helin'ge'er were all Chinese transliterations of Mongol names. Qingshuihe was the name of a local river, while Fengzhen and Ningyuan were examples of composite names from the combining of former Ming military administrations in the early Qing. Guihua and Suiyuan, as we have seen, were typical examples of the traditional Chinese Confucian perspective on the frontier.[27] The names of the new sub-prefectures came from the local historical geographic landscape and were conscious attempts to conjure the remote past. Wuyuan took its name from one of the three commandaries in the area at the time of the Former Han dynasty (202 BCE - CE 9); indeed, this was an echo of Zhang Zhidong's memorial discussing the historical geography of the area quoted above. Taolin derived its name from an ancient county of the same period, while Dongsheng came from a prefecture (*fu*) established in the Liao dynasty (916-1125) and Wuchuan from an administrative town (*zhen*) of the Northern Wei

[26] See for example Zhao Erxuan's memorial in *QJMSL*, vol. 3, p. 351.

[27] Fengzhen from Fengchuan Guard (*wei*) and Zhenning Battalion (*suo*); Ningyuan from Ningshuo *wei* and Huaiyuan *suo*. See Zhou Qingshu (ed.), *Nei Menggu lishi dili* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1994), pp. 224-225. On the *wei-suo* or Guards and Battalions system see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 78-79.

(386-534). Xinghe derived its name from Xinghe Route (*lu*), an administrative unit in the area during the Yuan dynasty (1264-1368).[28] Selection of these names should be viewed as part of a project of the Chinese reclaiming of this territory from Mongol priority and a shift from the earlier Qing recognition of the area as primarily Mongol territory. Zhang Zhidong's observation of 1884 contesting Mongol prior claims to native status and possession of place had become the official perspective in understanding the territory of the area.

The Growth in Chinese Local Administrative Units in the Republic

After some initial debate in the new Chinese Republic, the former Qing system of territorial administration in China Proper became simplified into a three-tiered system of province, circuit, and county. Prefectures were abolished and the sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit were now designated as counties. The office of Guisui Circuit Intendent was briefly re-modeled as the Guisui Inspection Commission (*Guisui guancha shi*), and Suiyuan Town merged with Guihua Town Sub-Prefecture. In the same year, because of a new requirement of the central government that there should be no duplication in the names of counties throughout the new Republic, Ningyuan was renamed Liangcheng County, and Guihua became Guisui County.[29] The most radical change in local administration occurred in 1914 with the establishment of the Suiyuan and Chahar Special Administrative Regions. All the counties of what was formerly the Guisui Circuit now passed from Shanxi provincial control to the jurisdictions of the two new Regions. The SSAR gained eight of these counties: Guisui, Salaqi, Qingshuihe, Helin'ge'er, Tuoketuo, Wuchuan, Wuyuan, and Dongsheng. The four remaining eastern counties, Fengzhen, Liangcheng, Taolin, and Xinghe, became part of the territory of the Chahar Special Region. The counties of the SSAR now came under the jurisdiction of the newly-created Suiyuan Circuit Intendant, who was directly under the Suiyuan Military Governor (*dutong*).

[28] See Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, passim for details of all these original units of administration; also see the evolutionary table of Suiyuan County territory which appears in *STZG* 1971, 1st juan, part 2, pp. 62-79.

[29] See Zhang Zaipu, *Zhongguo jindai zhengqu yange biao* (Xiamen: Fujian sheng ditu chubanshe, 1987), Introduction.

[30] Zhang Zaipu, *Zhongguo jindai zhengqu yange biao*, pp. 33, 35.

In the period before its elevation to provincial status in late 1928, the SSAR developed four more county-level administrative units. The extension of county space began with Guyang: a section of territory north of Baotou and the Daqing Mountains which combined a land reclamation area in Urad Back Banner (formerly under the jurisdiction of Wuyuan County) with an adjoining area in Muuminggan Banner (formerly under Salaqi County jurisdiction). Guyang was created a "preparatory county" in 1920 and a full county in early 1926. Baotou, already a thriving trading centre in the late Qing, originally fell within the boundaries of Salaqi County; in mid-1923 local officials created the Baotou Preparatory County, which became a full county two years later. Two new preparatory county administrations appeared in the Houtao area in 1926 during Feng Yuxiang's occupation of the area. The western section of Wuyuan County became the new Linhe Preparatory County; this gained full county status at the same time as Suiyuan became a province in 1929. The Dayutai Preparatory County also appeared in 1926 made out of sections of eastern Wuyuan, Baotou, and Guyang counties. In 1933 Dayutai was renamed Anbei and eventual became a county in 1942. The last act of territorial administrative creation occurred soon after Suiyuan gained provincehood. In 1930 the then chairman of Suiyuan Province, Li Peiji, established Woye Preparatory County on the eastern banks of the Yellow River in a land reclamation area in Otog Banner in the southwestern Ordos.

Suiyuan also gained counties by the redrawing of territory at the time of its elevation to a province. Mindful of the problem of fiscal resources and an adequate tax-base for the new province, the central government in Nanjing now reassigned the four counties "lost" to the Chahar Special Administrative Region at its creation in 1914 back to Suiyuan jurisdiction together with a new fifth county, Jining, which Chahar authorities had created out of sections of the original four in 1922.[31] As of 1930 Suiyuan Province had eighteen county-level administrations, the details of which are summarised in Table 3. As the table shows, names for all administrations created in the Republic continued to be inspired by the historical geography of the area.

Land reclamation lay at the very heart of all elaboration and development of these local administrative units; all of the new

[31] In return the new Chahar Province gained ten counties from Hebei Province.

Table 3: The 16 Counties and 2 Preparatory Counties of Suiyuan Province in 1930

Name	Date of Establishment	Name Source
Guisui[32]	(1723) name changed in 1913	combination of Guihua and Suiyuan
Qingshuihe	1723	Chinese name for local river
Salaqi	1727	Mongolian place name
Tuoketuo	1723	Mongolian place name
Helin'ge'er	1723	Mongolian place name
Fengzhen	1751	combination of Chinese names of 2 former Ming guard posts
Liangcheng (Ningyuan)[33]	(1751) name changed in 1913	Northern Wei commandary
Wuyuan	1903	Han dynasty commandary
Wuchuan	1903	Northern Wei dynasty town
Xinghe	1903	Yuan dynasty route
Taolin	1903	Han dynasty county
Dongsheng	1907	Liao dynasty prefecture
Guyang	1919 (prep. county) 1926 (county)	Han dynasty county
Jining (Pingdiquan)[34]	1921 (prep. county) 1922 (county)	Jin dynasty county
Baotou	1923 (prep. county) 1926 (county)	Chinese name of original settlement
Linhe	1925 (prep. county) 1929 (county)	Liao dynasty county
Anbei (Dayutai)[35]	1925 (prep. county)	Tang dynasty protectorate (*duhu fu*)
Woye	1930 (prep. county)	Han dynasty county

SOURCE: Zhou Qingshu, *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, passim; and *STZG* 1971, first juan, part 2.

counties or preparatory counties established from 1902 onwards were in land reclamation areas. The first sub-prefect of Wuyuan had been the head of the local land reclamation office.[36] After the establishment

[32] The result of the merger of Guihua and Suiyuan counties in 1913.
[33] Name changed from Ningyuan to Liangcheng in1913.
[34] Name changed from Pingdiquan to Jining in 1923.
[35] Name changed from Dayutai to Anbei in 1931
[36] An-zhai-ku-zhi (Anzai Kuraji), "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," *Menggu shi yanjiu cankao ziliao*, no. 6 (1963), p. 39.

of Guyang Preparatory County in 1919, the Suiyuan government's General Office for Land Reclamation ordered the head of the new administration to survey and fix the boundaries for four large sections of land from Muuminggan Banner.[37] In the case of Baotou, which gained a preparatory county administration in 1923 and became a fully-fledged county at the start of 1926, the pre-existing land reclamation infrastructure and funds from the land reclamation acreage office in the area were used to establish the initial preparatory county administration. Ma Fuxiang, the Suiyuan military governor at the time, argued in his submission calling for the establishment of the new jurisdiction that "measuring and putting to sale land while preparing and building county administration would not hinder the land reclamation enterprise [but instead] would enable the enthusiastic running of administration."[38] The determination of boundaries was based on land reclamation surveys of the area and Ma also deemed that the period of preparatory administration before full county status could be declared would be determined by the completion of the land reclamation process. Baotou would gain county status when the Urad Three Banner Land Reclamation Office's tasks of measuring and selling off land was completed.[39] The two projects, it seems, were in consonance. In much the same way Linhe and Dayutai both became preparatory counties. In the case of Linhe the *Suiyuan Draft Gazetteer* cites the added complication of the activities of Christian congregations led by foreign missionaries or *jiaomin* in occupying reclaimed land and monopolising water resources in the area. "Moreover," quotes the *Gazetteer* from the original submission, the missionaries "had privately leased land from each of the Mongol banners." County administration was thus necessary to curb the power of foreign missionaries in the land conversion process and "rescue the situation."[40] Counties born out of this process could also become agents in furthering the process. By the 1920s such counties as Guyang and Wuchuan were both undertaking negotiations with local Mongol banners on the reporting of new land for reclamation and supervising the disposal of such land.[41]

[37] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 18th page.
[38] "Baotou shezhi banfa," Archives of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Suiyuan kenwu zongju files (hereafter abbreviated as Kenwu Files), file no. 413-1-840, Doc 7, dated March 1923.
[39] "Baotou shezhi banfa,"
[40] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 32nd-35th pages.
[41] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 30th, 36th page records how Guyang County

Even before the concerted building of county administrations through the 1920s, counties could be visualised as extending over most of Suiyuan's territory. According to a chart showing the historical evolution of territorial administrative units in the SSAR published in the first gazetteer of the SSAR, the *Records of Suiyuan* of 1921, counties are co-extensive with the majority of Suiyuan's area. Guisui, Salaqi, and Heling'ge'er counties occupy Tumed Banner land; Wuchuan County is equivalent to "northern Tumed Banner, Dorben Keukhed, and Darkhan banners;"[42] Wuyuan County takes in Urad Front and Middle banners plus the western half of Dalad Banner and Khanggin Banner; Qingshuihe and Tuoketuo counties account for the remainder of Tumed banner land and also take in sections of Juungar Banner; Dongsheng County includes Wang and Jasagh Banner territory, and Guyang Preparatory County takes in Muuminggan and the Urad Back Banner. The only areas not within county boundaries are Otog, Uushin, and sections of Juungar, Wang, and Jasagh banners.[43]

Suiyuan As Provincial Space

But what of Suiyuan? Even in the late 19th century the name "Suiyuan" referred to the Manchu garrison town outside the eastern gates of Guihua Town and, by extension, to the post of the Suiyuan Town General, but *not* to a distinct area or territorial jurisdiction. From the construction of Suiyuan Town in the late 1730s its general was a part of the system which superintended Qing differentiated space beyond the Great Wall. The position can be seen as a force for the status quo and the maintenance of Qing order in the region. The General was responsible for security in the area of the two western Inner Mongolian leagues of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu and through a subordinate—the Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief—had direct control over the Guihua Town Tumed banners. He also retained command of the Manchu garrison at Youwei in Northern Shanxi.[44] How did this

officials worked on Minggan Banner in 1923 to report land. In 1926 the same county was involved in the putting to sale of such land.

[42] Zhang Dingyi (comp.), *Sui cheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai taidong tushuju, 1921), 2nd juan, pp. 1-6.

[43] Zhang Dingyi (comp.), *Sui cheng*, 2nd juan, pp. 1-6.

[44] Gao Geng'en (comp.), *Suiyuan zhi*, 11 juan (1908); 1st juan includes a map of Youwei and drawings of the main offices and official residences in the garrison.

generalship transform into a territorial administration? And how did the twelve extra-mural sub-prefectures of Shanxi become attached as the substantive components of this *area* designated as "Suiyuan?"

During Zhang Zhidong's push to nativise local Han in the early 1880s the incumbent Suiyuan Town General, as we have seen above, was a conduit for the Tumed Mongol protest against the move. After 1902, however, the Suiyuan Town generalship became increasingly associated with the dismantling of the old order. Land reclamation was the key to this change. In 1902 the Qing court adopted a plan of government-supervised land colonisation or "agriculturalisation" (*kaiken*) of large areas of southern Mongolia. The lands of the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues, the Tumed plain, and the Chahar region were among the first areas to be converted. Initially the Court appointed the Manchu administrator, Yigu, as Imperial Land Commissioner to supervise this task. However, after meeting with resistance and non-cooperation from Mongol banner princes of the area, the Court found it necessary to strengthen Yigu's hand by appointing him to the Suiyuan Town generalship. Under Yigu land colonisation and agricultural development of southwestern Mongolia became the central preoccupation of the Generalship and the position acquired an interest in land and territory which it did not previously have. Even with increased powers, however, Yigu was aware of the limitations of the office. The fundamental point, as Yigu reminded the Court in a memorial in 1907, was that although "the Mongol [jasagh] banners are subordinate to the General [*jiangjun zhi shu bu*], they are not part of the General's territory [*jiangjun zhi lingtu*]..." Elsewhere in this memorial he described the relationship:

> It is found that the Suiyuan Town General was moved from Youwei [in Shanxi] to be stationed in Suiyuan Town in name to secure (*zhenshou*) [the area]; in reality the General only administers the affairs of the locally-stationed Manchu eight banners and the [Guihua Town] Tumed Mongol banners. As far as Yeke-juu and Ulanchab leagues are concerned, although the General is supposedly said to manage [their affairs], in reality in the past [the General's office] has merely acted as a transmission point for official communications and has had no involvement with questions of political succession and appointments and other matters in the banners of these leagues.[45]

In this memorial Yigu approvingly considered the merits of transforming the area into a province. The context of Yigu's

[45] Yigu, "Zou wei zun yi Suiyuan jian sheng Yigu bian wei jin tiao ni dagai banfa," *Suiyuan zouyi*, handwritten copy in Library of IMAR, Hohhot.

reflections was the contemporary debate over the administrative reform of border regions.

Calls for the reorganisation of administration in Qing Inner Asia were a feature of Qing elite discourse in the later part of the nineteenth century, as we have already noted in the context of the discussion on the spread of sub-prefectures. Proposals to establish provinces in Inner Mongolia grew particularly in the last decade of Qing rule. In the wake of the establishment of the three Manchurian provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Fengtian in 1907, the Qing court solicited the opinion of high-ranking frontier officials, including Yigu, on the merits of dividing Inner Mongolia into a series of provinces as part of what was termed "Northwest administrative reform" (*Xibei biantong*). The geographical notion of Northwest in this context encompassed all of Qing Inner Asia from Mongolia to Tibet but particularly focused on Inner Mongolia.[46] In discussion of the necessity and benefits of provinces in Inner Mongolia officials generally looked to the pre-existing military posts in Inner Mongolia—the Suiyuan Town General and the Chahar and Rehe Commanders-in-Chief—for delineation of the territories of the new provinces. Different territorial forms of a province to be called "Suiyuan" were consistently among these different proposals.[47] A map in the *Imperial Provincial Atlas* of 1903 depicts a space it labels as "West Mongolia" which has a similar territorial form to what would later become Suiyuan Province in the Republic.[48]

Five provinces were added to the eighteen of China Proper from the 1880s onwards: Xinjiang in 1884, Taiwan in 1885, and the three northeastern or Manchurian provinces in 1907. As early as 1820 the statecraft scholar official Gong Zizhen had urged the establishment of a provincial administration in Xinjiang, chiefly on the grounds of population pressure.[49] By the 1870s the provincial model of central administration was advocated to strengthen border areas in the face of unrest and threat of foreign incursion. The immediate context surrounding the establishment of Xinjiang Province was the tussle with the Russian Romanov empire through the 1870s over the Ili

[46] See below for a more detailed discussion.

[47] Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qing mo Nei Menggu de difang jianzhi," pp. 17-18, gives a detailed account.

[48] *Huangchao zhisheng dituji* (1903), reprinted in *Treasuries of Maps: A Collection of Maps of Ancient China* (Harbin: Harbin Cartographic Publishing House, 1998), p. 262.

[49] Jones and Kuhn, "Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion," p. 155.

region.[50] In contrast with the centralised administration of the province, the old decentralised system of Qing rule in Inner Asia of many banner administrations, loosely supervised by a military official, was cast as weak in the face of foreign threat.[51] The architects of the Manchurian provincial administrations highlighted the climate of Russian and Japanese geo-political rivalry as an important reason to reform these administrations.[52] Most importantly, the Manchurian reforms created a new model and precedent in administrative structure for Mongols. Like the case of the Suiyuan Town General, these former generalships oversaw security in sections of Mongol lands. Each of the new provinces' administrative structures had an office of Mongol affairs which claimed to directly rule over local Mongol banners. Mongol administration was subsumed for the first time under provincial rule.

Yigu was particularly attracted to such a solution. In his memorial he focused on the inefficiency and difficulties involved in the continued administrative differentiation of populations. Banners and sub-prefectures were in jurisdictional conflict, particularly in cases involving both Mongol and Han. Creating Suiyuan Province would result in "the unification of Mongol and Chinese administration" (*Meng Han he zhi*).[53] Yigu's detailed model for new provincial administration proposed the establishment of a Governor, under whom would be a series of offices, including a Mongol Affairs Office (*Meng wu ke*), "to manage the affairs of subordinate leagues and banners" along the lines of what existed in the new Manchurian provinces.[54] Yigu also saw the older model of a partitioned empire as a liability: "in the past we relied upon [the notion of] a 'protective screen' [*fan li*]

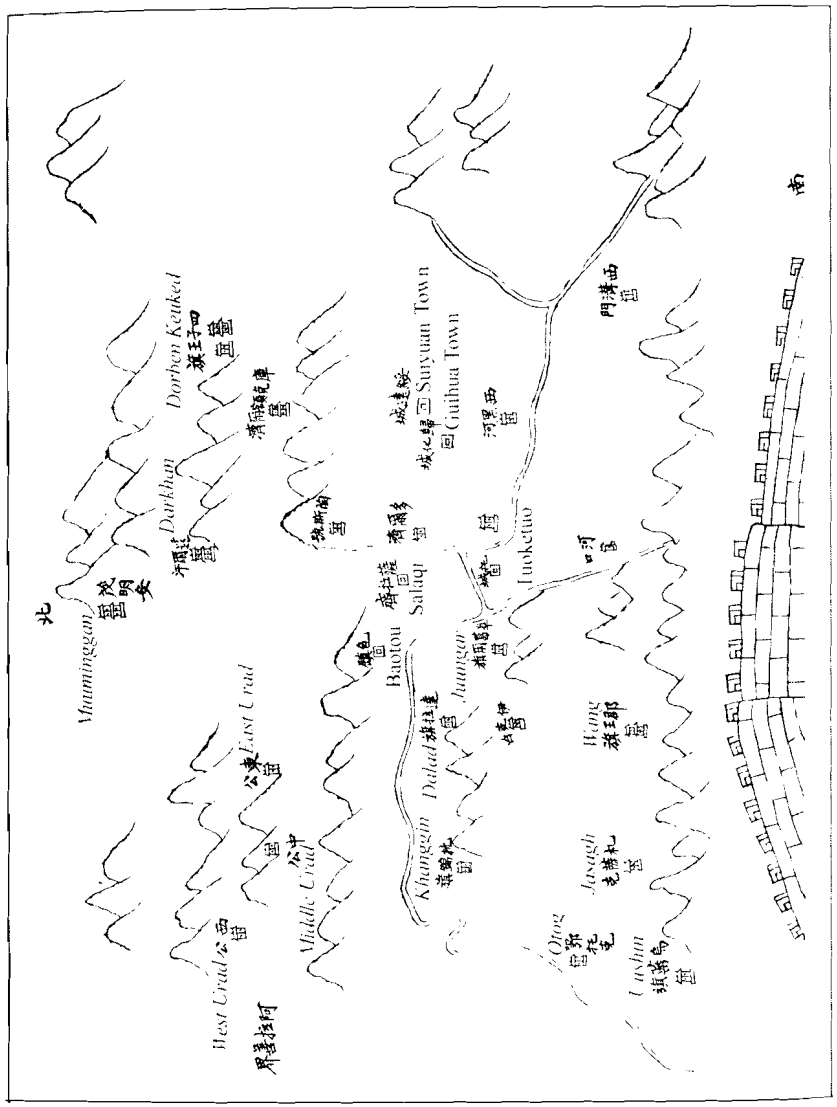
[50] Russia had taken advantage of Muslim rebellions in Xinjiang in the 1860s to advance and hold "for safekeeping" the Ili region in 1871. See Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, "Late Ch'ing foreign relations, 1866-1905," in John K. Fairbank, and Kwang-Ching Liu (eds), *CHC*, volume 11, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 88-91.

[51] See Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qing mo Nei Menggu de difang jianzhi," p. 17.

[52] Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qing mo Nei Menggu de difang jianzhi," p. 17.

[53] Yigu, "Zou wei zun yi Suiyuan jian sheng "

[54] Yigu, "Zou wei zun yi Suiyuan jian sheng "



Map 5: The Territory of the Suiyuan General circa 1908
(based on Gao Geng'en, *Suiyuan zhi* 1908, 1st juan, 1st page)

The reality today is that there is nothing that we can depend upon.[55] Instead development should be embraced:

[55] Yigu, "Zou wei zun yi Suiyuan jian sheng."

> As far as the rule of Mongols is concerned it is already difficult to keep things in the same old rut. If it is desired to increase agriculturalisation, establish settlements, and perfect border defense, then to merge banner and Han administration and create a durable crisis-management policy, how can we look to the past for administrative reform?[56]

The principle of separate administrations for Mongol and Han was by implication relegated to the past, while provincial administration pointed the way to the future. Importantly, too, the new governmental concern for land reclamation and the need to control more directly the use and disposal of land in southwestern Inner Mongolia created the rationale for the establishment of a provincial administration.

The year of 1908 marked the high point of proposals for the division of Inner Mongolia, or still more grandly all of Mongolia (i.e. Inner and Outer), into provinces. There was also a degree of opposition based on two arguments: first the great financial cost of establishing the new Mongolian provinces, and secondly the outright abandonment such a move implied for the most fundamental aspects of Qing policy on Mongolia. By the end of the dynasty three years later, no plan had been implemented.[57] Yigu's detailed scheme for provincehood, however, remained, as did a series of three gazetteers that Yigu had commissioned and overseen which, in composite form, described the area of what would become the SSAR. The *Suiyuan Gazetteer* took as its subject the Suiyuan Town garrison but also included maps and descriptions of the boundaries and the natural and historical features of the Suiyuan Town General's "territory" which encompassed the Tumed plain as well as Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues. Its central map (see Map 5) shows the locations of Guihua and Suiyuan Towns and important Chinese settlements on the Tumed plain (indicated by walled squares), alongside the location of larger Mongol temples and monasteries and all of the banner *yamen* in Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues (indicated by stylized single and double story buildings). The third chapter of this gazetteer on "ancient towns and administrative units" lists and describes the names and locations of over sixty of these throughout all Mongol territories and noted the utility of this knowledge for "when Suiyuan becomes a province and increases local administrations." The gazetteer also noted that the four new sub-prefectures created in 1903 (Wuyuan, Wuchuan, Xinghe, and Taolin) all took their names from the ancient past.[58] The

[56] Yigu, "Zou wei zun yi Suiyuan jian sheng."
[57] Wu-yun-ge-ri-le, "Qing mo Nei Menggu de difang jianzhi," p. 19.
[58] Gao Geng'en, *Suiyuan zhi*, 3rd juan, 1st page.

Guisui Circuit Gazetteer gave a detailed overview of the twelve sub-prefectures of the Circuit while the *Tumed Banner Gazetteer* concentrated upon describing the features of this banner.

Given the overlapping nature of these jurisdictions the project had to be carefully coordinated and Yigu clearly conceived of this gazetteer compilation project as integrated. All gazetteers were completed in 1907 and were cross-referenced. Information on the towns of Guihua and Suiyuan, for example, appears in the *Guisui Circuit Gazetteer* and the *Suiyuan Gazetteer* respectively but only in extremely brief form in the *Tumed Banner Gazetteer*. Again the geographical features of the Banner are only treated in summary form and the reader is directed to the *Guisui Circuit Gazetteer* for details.[59] A fourth tome that Yigu recommended be included as part of this project was his own collection of memorials to the Qing Court on the process of land colonisation in the area.[60] The combination and division of categories between these texts provides detailed knowledge and content on what would become the SSAR.

Republican Developments

Republicanism and the new order were slow to arrive beyond the Wall. Events during the 1911 revolution, which led to the end of Qing rule, were inconclusive. Ultimately the orientation towards Shanxi determined what happened. The first inkling of real upheaval was the arrival of news of the uprising in the Shanxi provincial capital Taiyuan and the assassination of the Governor of Shanxi, Lu Zhongqi, on October 29. Finally Shanxi troops stationed in Guihua under the command of the Guisui Circuit revolted one night in mid-November. The action seemed poorly planned and ambiguous. According to memoirs of the period, in order to rouse townspeople, the soldiers unsuccessfully attempted to set fire to Guihua's mosque and after some gunshots vanished into the mountains behind the town.[61]

[59] Gao Geng'en, *Tumote zhi*, 10 juan (1908 Reprint, Taibei: Chengwen, 1968), 1st juan, part 2, 4th page.

[60] Gao Geng'en, *Suiyuan zhi*, preface.

[61] The uprising and the course of events is reported in memorials in *QJMSL*, vol. 3, pp. 469-480, passim. Two memoirs flesh out the details: Rong Xiang, "Lüe tan Xinhai geming qianhou de jiaxiang jiu shi," *Nei Menggu Xinghai geming shiliao* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1979), pp. 1-21; Zhao Guoding (narrated), Liu Yingyuan (arranged), "Shiyuan tang jiu hua" in *Wode jingli jianwen NMWSZL*, no.31, pp.53-60; See also Yan Xishan, *Yan Xishan zao nian huiyilu* (Taibei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1968), p. 14.

Sections of these troops ended up taking Baotou some days later. Guihua, however, was retaken by a force led by the fearsome local magistrate, Fan Enqing.[62] At this juncture a larger revolutionary force from Shanxi led by Yan Xishan entered the area on retreat from a recent engagement,[63] and easily regained Baotou eleven days after the establishment of the Nanjing Provisional Government far to the south on the first day of 1912. The twin towns remained defiant, defended by a composite force of Manchu and local Tumed Mongol troops headed by the resident Suiyuan Town General, Kunxiu. After a pitched battle with these troops, and with news that the situation had become favourable to him in Shanxi, Yan Xishan moved his force southwards without attacking Guihua and Suiyuan towns.

Only after the formal abdication of the emperor and Chinese New Year festivities in February 1912 did new officials gradually move in to take up posts in the area. The appointing authority was not the central Republican government but an authority much closer at hand—Yan Xishan, now the governor of Shanxi. Yan quickly moved to fill all county executive positions in the area with his own appointees. By the time Zhang Shaozeng, Yuan Shikai's appointee to the post of Suiyuan Town General, arrived in Guisui some time in September 1912 he was facing a direct challenge in terms of jurisdiction and, most importantly, revenue. On his arrival he became embroiled in a struggle for jurisdictional control and power with Yan Xishan's Shanxi appointees, in particular with Pan Yan, the holder of the newly created position of Guihua Surveillance Commissioner (*Guihua guanchashi*).[64] Zhang's solution was to urge the new government in Beijing to establish Suiyuan as a province.

Besides its popularity amongst frontier officials as the way of the future in the administration of border lands, the province also emerged

[62] Rong claims that Fan was the magistrate for Salaqi Sub-Prefecture. Zhao claims it was Wuyuan Sub-Prefecture. See Rong Xiang, "Lüe tan Xinghai geming," p. 3; Zhao Guoding and Liu Yingyuan, "Shiyuan tang jiuhua," p. 54.

[63] After the assassination of the Shanxi Governor, the local assembly in Taiyuan installed Yan Xishan as the new governor. In December, however, Yan and his troops were forced to retreat northwards into the Suiyuan region after the imperial army moved into Shanxi. See Guo Tingyi, *Jindai Zhongguo shi gang*, 2 volumes, vol. 1 (3rd edition, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1989), p. 392. Yan later recalled that his northern excursion lasted 45 days.

[64] This new position was the equivalent of the former rank of *Daotai* or Circuit Intendent. Rong Xiang describes Pan as "old goods, a teacher of Yan Xishan from Yan's student days, over 60 years old and good at flattery." See Rong Xiang, "Lüetan Xinghai geming," p. 11.

in the last decade of the Qing as an important locus of gentry politics. A growth in local elite activism, combined with Late Qing reforms, aiming at enlisting local elite energies in modernising and building national strength, spurred the development of a "self-rule" (*zizhi*) movement in the provinces and led to the establishment of gentry-dominated provincial assemblies.[65] In the early Republic the "provincialisation of social and political life"[66] became even more pronounced. An important consequence of this was the growth in the numbers of *huiguan*, regional associations of merchants, and *tongxianghui*, associations of fellow provincials or townspeople, established in important cities throughout China.[67] There is clear evidence of organised activity by the local gentry of the soon to become defunct Guisui Circuit to press the case for the establishment of Suiyuan as province. Rong Xiang recalls that local gentry took advantage of preparations for the Republic's first elections during 1913, which brought candidates from all of the counties to Guisui, to form the "Guisui Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab [Leagues] Unification League" (*Guisui Wu Yi lianhe hui*). A key member of this, Li Jingquan, became the member for the area in the new national assembly in Beijing in 1913 and represented the Circuit in subsequent sittings of the assembly in 1917 and 1922.[68] The official sponsor of the establishment of Suiyuan as a province was the new Republican Suiyuan Town General, Zhang Shaozeng.[69] Rong attributes Zhang's leadership of the movement to Zhang's desire to take the revenue claimed by Shanxi. The strained relationship between Yuan Shikai and

[65] Philip A. Kuhn, "The Development of Local Government," in John King Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker (eds.) *CHC*, vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949, Part 2 (Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 329-340.

[66] John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China, Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 165.

[67] John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China*, p. 165. See also Mary Backus Rankin, "State and Society in Early Republican Politics, 1912-18," in *China Quarterly*, no. 150, (June 1997), pp. 269-271; and Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 40-41.

[68] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," serialised in 4 parts in *Nei Menggu tushuguan gongzuo*, no. 1-4, (1984), part 1, no. 1, p. 25. See brief biography of Li Jingquan in *Minguo renwu da cidian* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991), p. 302.

[69] "Wu Zhao [sic] liang meng guibing Guisui zhi jihua," *Dixue zazhi*, 5th year, no. 43 (January 1914), *zawen* section, p. 19. For more details see Rong Xiang, "Lüe tan Xinghai geming," pp. 13-15; and Yu Cunhao, "Xinghai geming yu Suiyuan tebiequ de huashe," *Nei Menggu Xinghai geming shiliao* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1979), pp. 56-61.

the possessor of post-imperial power in Shanxi, Yan Xishan, also had some influence over the outcome.[70]

The "Plan for the Merging of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues with the Guisui [Circuit]" ratified by the National Assembly in November 1913 was published in the first issue of *Geographical Magazine* for 1914 and sets out the essential context and reasons for the decision. The most important factor, according to this document, was the recent military turmoil. During 1913 troops from the newly independent Outer Mongolia entered into Ulaanchab League and fought several heavy engagements against local and Shanxi troops. There was an imperative to take the area's administration in hand for defense and security purposes (See Chapter Five for more details on unrest and independence activity in the area in 1913). The core administrative component of the proposed Special Administrative Region (SAR), the Guisui Circuit, was neglected because of its great distance from the centre of Shanxi central administration. The area, according to Zhang's submission to central government, also had great developmental potential and could be fiscally independent "within three or four years." The original call to establish a province, however, was determined to be too large a project and "not something that could be accomplished without preparation." Instead Suiyuan would follow the precedent already determined in the case of Rehe and become an "Administrative Region."[71]

In October 1912 Han gentry from Rehe Circuit, then attached to Zhili Province in a similar way to the Guisui Circuit's ties with Shanxi Province, had presented a petition to Yuan Shikai proposing that Rehe be established as a separate "administrative region" as a transitional stage in its elevation to provincehood. The Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Bureau of Yuan's administration gave its approval to this proposal based, in part, on the rationale that there would be no obvious changes in the appearance of administration as the post of military governor (*dutong*) would remain. If the *dutong* was to be replaced by a [provincial] governor (*duhu*), the Office warned, "the change would excite suspicion and mistrust."[72] This was clearly a reference to Mongol banner opposition to and fears of absorption within a

[70] The chief memoirist is Rong Xiang in two memoirs: "Daqing shanren zixu," part 1, pp. 24-25; and "Lüe tan Xinhai geming," pp. 13-15.

[71] "Wu Zhao [sic] liang meng guibing Guisui zhi jihua," pp. 20-21.

[72] "Rehe Hanmin daibiao qing gai jian xingzheng qu" Nanjing Second National Historical Archives, file no. 1045-142 quoted in Wang Desheng, "Beiyang junfa dui meng zhengce jige wenti de chuxi," p. 58.

provincial system. Yuan at this time was engaged in the delicate task of winning and consolidating the support of Inner Mongol banner princes for the new Republic.[73] Establishing provinces in Inner Mongolia and changing the terms of the banners' relationship with higher governmental authority was inimical to such a strategy. Within the Special Region the system of separate administration of Mongols as it existed under the Qing could be preserved.

An article in the *Geographical Magazine* in 1916 provides insight into the difference between a SAR and a province as conceived at the time. The SAR was administratively sparer, emphasised military rule, and possessed fewer resources committed to civil institutions than a province. In this sense Suiyuan's status as a Special Region emphasised the strategic importance of the area but also its extreme backwardness. According to the writer, advocates of the Special Region solution for Inner Mongolia saw its virtues in these terms:

> A Special Region is a Military Region. The region's civil and financial administration is all in the hands of the military governor. Those under the governor follow their old customs in administration. In all aspects within the Region there is no major reform and administrative costs are not wasted on such a useless piece of territory.[74]

From this perspective, given the current conditions in such areas of military instability, banditry, unrest, and the backwardness of people living in these places, the establishment of provincial rule would be a waste of governmental resources. Although the unified military government of the Special Region was "a starting point" (*ru shou*), province-building remained a task for the future. In the eyes of the writer, however, such an assessment ignored or underestimated the developmental strides that Suiyuan and the other SARs had already made:

> In terms of the level of local development in the places already discussed, the convenience of communications has resulted in huge changes... In the blinking of an eye the move towards provincehood has become an unstoppable imperative. The expansion of polities and geographical development are bound to be followed by the development of culture...These places have already made great advances and so to take the pessimistic stance and to abandon these areas as Special Regions is to cause them to fall back quickly.[75]

[73] See Chapter Five for a detailed account of Yuan Shikai's policy towards Mongols at this time.

[74] Liu Zhongren, "Menggu jian sheng yi," *Dixue zazhi*, No 83 (1916), *lunye* section, p. 3.

The writer also expressed some of the impatience commonly shared among Chinese nationalists concerning the continued existence of Mongol princely banners in the new Republic. From this perspective the establishment of provincial rule would create equality between Han and Mongol and the resulting spread of education would aid in "the uplifting of Mongols to a consciousness of their equality with all citizens of the Republic." In the end, readers were reminded, "one more person who gains literacy means one less person who endorses chieftains; and [as a result] princes, and nobles and other unequal titles will naturally melt away into nothing."[76]

In spite of such advocacy, Suiyuan and its fellow SARs did not gain provincial status until 1929. Nevertheless, even under a series of indifferent and corrupt military governors, the SSAR developed steadily in administrative bulk in the period up to 1929. The fifteen years of the SSAR can best be analysed in two periods.

In the first period, from the creation of the SSAR in 1914 until 1920, the military governorship quickly passed through the hands of three Beijing government appointees. Zhang Shaozeng, the public architect of the SSAR quickly moved on to be replaced by Pan Juying in the summer of 1914. Jiang Yanxing succeeded in October 1916 and retired in June 1917 to be eventually replaced by Cai Chengxun. The last two military governors in particular, because of corruption and abuses of power, were the subject of protest from local elites such as the Guisui Merchants' Association. Delegations from Guisui on several occasions made well-directed representations to Beijing for their removal.[77] During this period a series of specialised offices began to cluster around the Military Governor's administration. The most important of these, the General Bureau for Land Reclamation, was established in 1915 but was really a reorganised version of the late Qing office of similar name and purpose (See the next chapter for a detailed account of this office). By the end of this period the military governorship had also developed a "General Affairs Bureau" (*zong wu chu*), a "Branch Department of Finance" (*caizheng fen ting*), and a "Preparatory Bureau of Industry" (*shiye choubei chu*).[78] Local state building,

[75] Liu Zhongren, "Menggu jian sheng yi," p. 5.

[76] Liu Zhongren, "Menggu jian sheng yi," p. 5.

[77] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," part 3, *Nei Menggu tushuguan gongzuo*, no. 3, 1984, p. 31.

[78] Suiyuan kenwu zongju, *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, 2 vols. (Guisui: No publisher,

however, was haphazard and undirected. Little sense of a conscious intention to build a new territorial administration emerged in the actions of these military governors.

In the second period, from the end of 1920 to the end of 1928, the SSAR military governorship fell into the hands of more ambitious administrations, first under Ma Fuxiang (December 1920 to end of 1924) and then as part of a Feng Yuxiang-controlled administration led by Li Mingzhong (January 1925 to mid 1926). Several developments signal the start of this period of more rapid development. First, the *Records of Suiyuan*, the first gazetteer of the Region, was published in 1921. Zhang Dingyi, the compiler of the new gazetteer, had moved from head of Heling'ge'er County to lead the infant general affairs and finance offices discussed above.[79] Besides the detailed discussion of the historical geography as well as administrative components of the area and land colonisation, the gazetteer provides the first published series of maps of Suiyuan as a territory.[80] Second, an important development in the quickening of the pace of change in Suiyuan was the arrival in Guisui of the railway line from Beijing in 1921. By 1925 the railway line extended across the Tumed plain to its terminus at Baotou. Points on the Tumed plain were now comfortably reached from Beijing and Tianjin in little more than half a day's travel. The arrival of the railway, begun in the late Qing, accentuated the importance of Guisui and Baotou as regional centres within the wider Republic. Finally, just before the opening of the rail-link, Suiyuan's local gentry and merchants established a Suiyuan *huiguan* in Beijing. A Suiyuan Students in Beijing Society had existed since 1919.[81] Suiyuan had evidently gained some substance as a separate place and identity by this time.

Provincial-level administration also developed quickly during this period. Under Ma Fuxiang the Suiyuan military governorship gained a fully-fledged Department of Industry and a Department of Education (the evolution of the Suiyuan Department of Education is discussed in further detail in Chapter Four).[82] Involvement in these two enterprises was a hallmark of provincial governmental activism in local

1932), vol. 1, p. 5.

[79] Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi kaoshu*, p. 67.

[80] Zhang Dingyi (ed.) *Sui cheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai taidong tushuju, 1921). Unfortunately, the copy I examined in the Library of Inner Mongolia is missing these maps.

[81] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shan en zixu," part 3, p. 32.

[82] Suiyuan kenwu zongju, *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 1, p. 6.

development in the Republic and bespeaks the more ambitious intentions of Suiyuan's administrations in the early and mid-1920s. In 1925 during the brief but frenetic period of the Feng Yuxiang-dominated administration in Suiyuan, the Branch Department of Finance increased in administrative seniority to become a department, and the SSAR government began more concerted attempts at linking the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues to Suiyuan governmental authority by establishing the quasi-governmental office of the "Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu Leagues Thirteen Banners Federation" (see Chapter Five for a more detailed discussion of this office).

Confusion, upheaval, and crisis mark the end of this period. Except for a brief time, appointees of Yan Xishan dominated in Suiyuan's government from mid-1926 onwards. Moreover, from the summer of 1926 to 1929, Suiyuan, in particular the Tumed plain and the Houtao region, became a battleground between contending warlord armies and was wracked by severe famine which resulted in massive depopulation.

Provincial Elevation

Proposals for the elevation of the special regions to provincial status continued to be heard through the 1910s and 1920s. We have noted above the enthusiasm of one writer in 1916 for the conversion of the Regions into provinces.[83] Again, in 1922, the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* reported on plans for the conversion of the three Inner Mongolian special regions into provinces.[84] However, despite such calls, the diffusion of central government authority during the period of warlord rule prevented the concentration of political will to effect such a change. Mongol elites, moreover, remained staunchly opposed to provinces because of the threat such administrations posed to the power of banner administrations.[85]

The victory of the Northern Expedition and the establishment of a new national government in Nanjing under the GMD changed this. The GMD armies reached Northern China in summer 1928. In July

[83] Liu Zhongren, "Menggu jian sheng yi," p. 5.

[84] *Shenbao*, 3 March 1922, p. 10.

[85] See for example the letter of protest against the establishment of provinces in Inner Mongolia written by the prince of the Otog banner, Galdzangrulmawangjaljamsu, in 1923 in Henry Serruys, C.I.C.M. "A Letter of Protest From Ordos Against the Creation of Provinces, 1923," *Central Asiatic Journal*, no. 21, (1977) pp. 251-258.

1928 the head of the quasi-governmental structure the GMD had established in North China, Jiang Zuobin, took up the proposal that Rehe, Chahar, and Suiyuan become provinces. By the end of August the GMD Central Political Committee had resolved to support the proposal and to broaden the plan to include Qinghai and Xikang as well.[86] The GMD government's Department of Internal Affairs at the time argued in favour of the provincial solution from the perspective of administrative standardisation:

> The *Principles of National Construction* [i.e. the developmental program of the GMD drafted by Sun Yat-sen] only refers to provincial rule; it has no provisions for special administrative regions. Moreover, military activity has concluded and the period of political tutelage has begun, and so, one after another, special regions should be converted to provinces to show unity.[87]

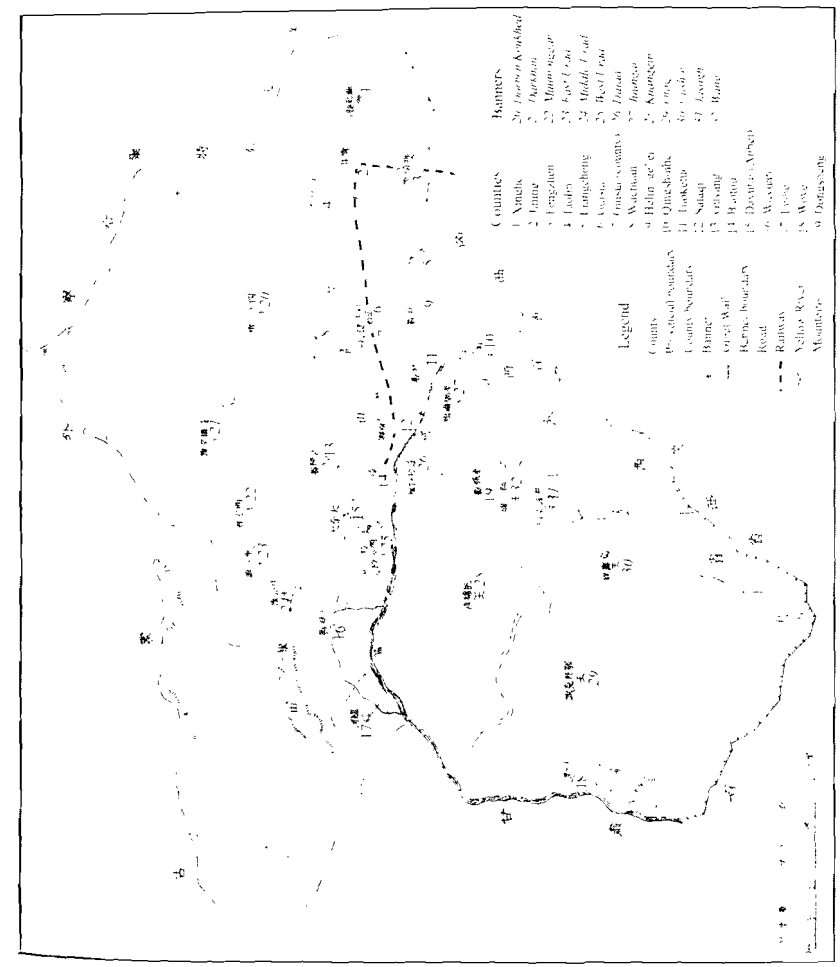
Special Regions thus were to be associated with warlordism and the older corrupt order.

The establishment of the new Nanjing government symbolised the victory of a new, more legitimate, moral order and a rectification of administrative forms was an important part of the consolidation of this new order. In September 1928 the Nanjing government issued its formal order to establish the new provinces. Ningxia, a circuit of Gansu Province, was declared a new province in the following month. China now had twenty-nine provinces and, apart from Outer Mongolia and Tibet (both out of political reach), homogenous provincial space prevailed throughout the territory of the Republic (see Maps 6 and 7). Administrative standardisation, although important, was not the only reason for the change. The establishment of provinces was widely seen at the time as representing the extinguishment of the notion of Inner Mongolia and was part of a broader assimilationist agenda already present in Chinese nationalist and GMD discourse on ethnic difference in the Chinese Republic.[88] By provincialising Inner Mongolia, Mongols could be assimilated as proper citizens of the nation. The spatial project of regularising territorial administration was, then, an important component in the assertion of a Chinese nationalist vision of

[86] Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce 1928 nian - 1949 nian," in *Nei Menggu jindai shi luncong*, no. 3, p. 217.

[87] Ji Aishi, *Chaha'er yu Suiyuan* (1937), quoted in Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce," p. 217.

[88] Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce," p. 220.



Map 6: Suiyuan Province in 1933

(Based on Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu ed., *Suiyuan gaikuang* Guisui, 1933, attached map)

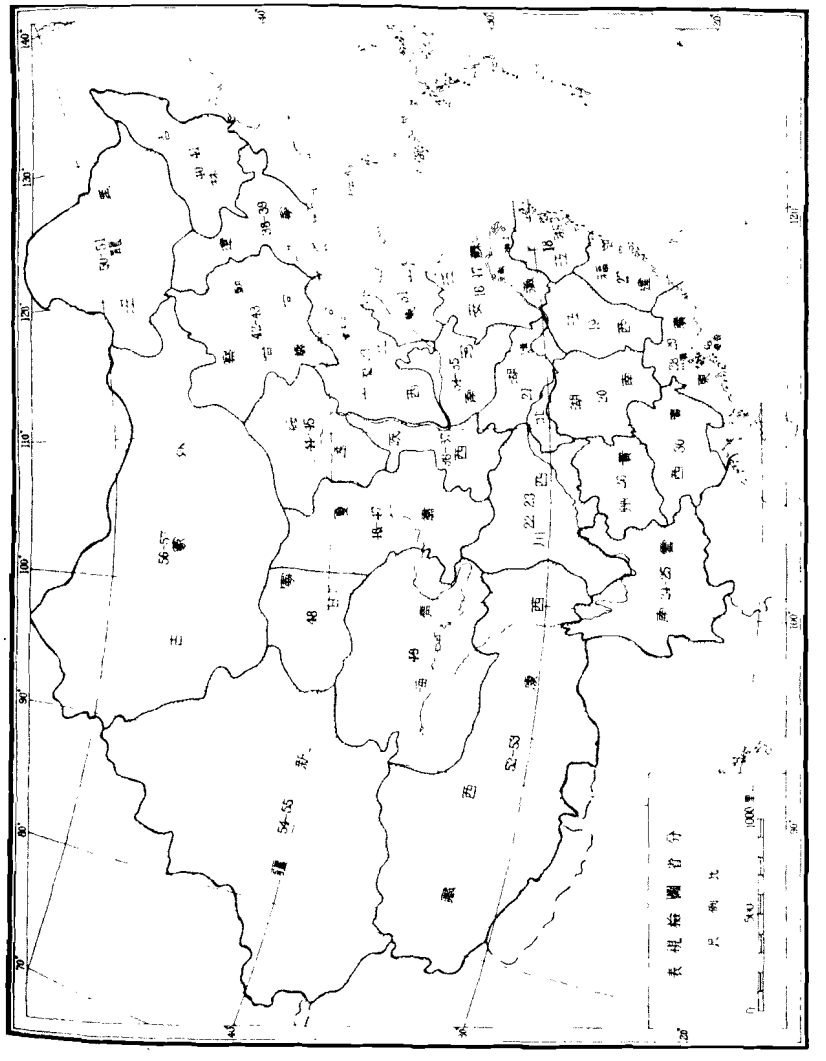
a unified national community (Mongol reaction to the establishment of the provinces is examined in Chapter Six).

The viability of Suiyuan as a province, however, was open to question. Even after the retrocession to Suiyuan of the five counties ceded to Chahar in 1914, could the new province really finance itself? Compared to the older established provinces of China Proper, Suiyuan had far fewer counties, a much smaller population, and had begun life at the end of a terrible famine which had reduced its already meagre population by as much as 25 per cent. According to a Suiyuan government official's analysis in 1932, based on "figures scoured from many sources," Suiyuan's Han population increased from roughly around 1.4 million in 1918 to around 1.7 million in 1926. One year after provincial elevation Suiyuan's Han population was a little under 2 million. However, excluding the combined population of the five extra counties that Suiyuan gained on provincial elevation (around 630,000 people) the area had suffered an overall population reduction of 25 per cent from the 1926 figure. Moreover a large portion of these people were transient.[89] The growth and elaboration of provincial-style institutions in Suiyuan, however, continued.

With provincial elevation there was yet another increase in the number of departments and offices of government. Compared to the period before 1929, the Suiyuan provincial state in the Nanjing decade was also more active in creating, using, and appealing to symbols of Suiyuan's standing within the Republic. This is particularly the case from mid-1931 onwards under the chairmanship of Fu Zuoyi, the longest serving of all the administrators of Suiyuan since 1914. By the end of 1932 travelers arriving in Guisui could stay at the newly-constructed Suiyuan Hotel, one of the first projects that Fu oversaw on his arrival to take up the Chairmanship. The new hotel quickly became the chosen venue for the government-sponsored banquets of welcome for visiting dignitaries and other rituals which reinforced or demonstrated the substance of Suiyuan provincialism. In Spring 1931 the Suiyuan government established the Suiyuan Gazetteer Office, with a grant of 100,000 *yuan* and appointed the nationally-renowned scholar Li Taifen as its director. By 1936 the Office had produced in manuscript form a provincial gazetteer of encyclopedic proportions over 100 *juan*, or chapters, in length.[90] Civil

[89] *Suiyuan ribao* (hereafter abbreviated as *SRB*), 11 August 1932. Note: all references to *SRB* in this chapter are taken from page 3 of the relevant edition.

[90] On the complicated history of the non-publication of this gazetteer see Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi kaoshu*, pp. 78-88.



Map 7: Suiyuan as a part of Republican provincial space, 1936
Suiyuan is numbered 44-45 (Source: Ding Wenjiang et al. *Zhongguo fensheng xin tu* Shanghai: shenbao guan, 1936, inside front cover)

service examinations for entry into the Suiyuan provincial bureaucracy commenced in 1933.[91] Rather fitfully through the period as well, the Suiyuan government oversaw continued work on road-building and such large infrastructure projects as the Minsheng irrigation channel. This ill-fated project to bring irrigation to larger areas of the Tumed plain begun in the wake of the famine of the late 1920s. As we shall see in later chapters, the Suiyuan government also supervised an official provincial daily newspaper.

In sum, although lacking some of the substance, by the 1930s Suiyuan had emerged as possessing many of the hallmarks of Chinese provincialism. The spread and elaboration of governments, both county and quasi-provincial/provincial, had played a central part in the development of this provincial territory.

Placing Suiyuan in the Republic

Administrative and territorial elaboration was one important process by which Suiyuan came into being; other important components of Suiyuan's construction will be examined in the following two chapters. In the remainder of this chapter I wish to consider two important and powerful external influences which shaped and determined Suiyuan's meaning as a place: the political and economic power of Shanxi Province, and Chinese nationalist discourse on the geographical makeup of the nation and Suiyuan's place within it.

Suiyuan and Shanxi

In his memorial of 1907, which proposed that Suiyuan become a province, Yigu considered the question of a future Suiyuan province's relationship with Shanxi Province. He argued that the newly-separate status of Suiyuan did not mean that Shanxi was to be cast aside. Rather, "Shanxi should remain the basis of Suiyuan... the newly-built province does not need to be independent."[92] The course of Suiyuan's development in the Republic bore out the accuracy of Yigu's assessment. In spite of separation, Shanxi Province, its political and military strongman, Yan Xishan, and its people—merchants and

[91] See *SRB*, 23 May 1933.
[92] Yigu, "Zou wei zun yi Suiyuan jian sheng"

traders, peasants, soldiers, and officials—remained a dominating influence over politics and the economy of Suiyuan. Shanxi's power emerged as a constant factor in the shaping of Suiyuan's development, particularly from the late 1920s onwards.

Even after formal separation from Shanxi Province in 1914, Guisui continued to send representatives to the Shanxi provincial assembly. Rong Xiang reports that his attendance in Taiyuan as a representative from Guisui in this assembly continued into the early 1920s.[93] From mid-1926 Suiyuan fell directly under the political and military control of Shanxi. Apart for a brief period in 1927 all of Suiyuan's military governors and, after 1929, all its provincial chairmen were appointees favoured by Yan Xishan.[94] A list of high-ranking personnel in the Suiyuan provincial Department of Construction in 1929 reveals that nineteen out of the twenty-five officials on the list, including the departmental head, Feng Xi, were natives of Shanxi. Although Suiyuan natives were in the majority on a similar list for the Suiyuan General Office for Land Colonisation, officials with Shanxi origins still accounted for around one quarter of those named.[95] After the establishment of the Nanjing government and the creation of the new Suiyuan provincial state, the Suiyuan provincial GMD branch organisation quickly divided into two camps supporting Chiang Kai-shek and Yan Xishan respectively. In Summer 1933 the Yan Xishan faction, amidst some violence and turmoil, forced the head of the Suiyuan provincial Department of Education, Pan Xiuren, who was also head of the opposing GMD faction, from office and replaced him with one of their own, Yan Wei.[96]

Shanxi also dominated the Suiyuan economy. The 1934 survey of Suiyuan published by the Suiyuan government gives details of the dominance of Shanxi traders and merchants in Baotou. In all but one of the ten key commercial and trading sectors, Shanxi merchants dominated. They made up the majority of Baotou County's 22 grain traders, and grain oil dealers. They all but monopolised the important wool and hide trade, the livestock trade, and the local specialty "Mongol trade" (the traveling traders that retailed items such as brick

[93] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," part 3, p. 31.
[94] These were: from August 1926 to September 1928, Shang Zhen; last months of 1928, Li Peiji; January 1929 to end of 1929, Xu Yongchang; January 1930 to 1931 Li Peiji (again); and finally from August 1931 onwards, Fu Zuoyi.
[95] *Suiyuan jianshe jikan*, no. 1 (March 1929), first pages.
[96] Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan, 1987), p. 92; see also Yang Lingde, *Sai shang yiwang—Yang Lingde huiyilu* (*NMWSZL* no 30), pp. 74-76.

tea and other consumer goods to Mongols scattered throughout the banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues). They also dominated the local trade in medicine and medicinal materials, miscellaneous goods, and cigarettes. Finally and most importantly, Baotou's three native banks were all controlled by Shanxi shareholders.[97] Suiyuan's modern banking sector also had important Shanxi representation. The Shanxi Provincial Bank had branches in all of Suiyuan's major towns, as did the Western Suiyuan Land Colonisation Bank which was established in 1932 as a part of Yan Xishan's plans to colonise areas of the Houtao region with Shanxi soldiers.[98] Shanxi-issued promissory notes or scrip were one of the major currencies and scourges of the local economy through the 1920s and particularly after the war between Yan Xishan (in alliance with Feng Yuxiang) and Chiang Kai-shek in 1930.[99] From 1926 onwards Suiyuan had to bear the burden of contributions to support Yan's armies in Suiyuan. In 1934 a contributor to the *Society of Suiyuan Students in Beiping Study Journal* protested the mounting debt owed to Taiyuan for "military administration:"

> Although in name Shanxi and Suiyuan are two[separate] provinces, in reality they both belong to the same entity. Their connection cannot be described as characteristic of a normal inter-provincial relationship. The Taiyuan authorities control both Shanxi and Suiyuan. In simple terms Taiyuan is Suiyuan's direct superior, and the central government is only a second-hand authority for Suiyuan.[100]

In February 1932 Yan Xishan gained the position of head of the Taiyuan Pacification Office (*Taiyuan suijing shu*). The Taiyuan post was in effect the paramount position of power for Shanxi and Suiyuan. In this post Yan not only commanded military affairs in Shanxi and Suiyuan but also exercised leadership in political administration, policy towards Mongols, and economic planning for both provinces. In early 1935 the Taiyuan Pacification Office announced that it had prepared a Ten Year Plan for Construction of Suiyuan.[101] Suiyuan also

[97] Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (comp.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao* (Guisui, 1934), p. 173-177.

[98] Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (comp.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao*, p. 123. See reports of the assent of the Suiyuan provincial government to the Taiyuan Pacification Office's request that the new bank be allowed to issue its own promissory notes "to assist in the colonisation and development of the Northwest." In *SRB*, 10 September 1932; 17 September 1932.

[99] See the chapter on finance in Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* (Guisui, 1933), section 10, pp. 1-2.

[100] "Suiyuan shang qian Taiyuan shushiwan" *Suiyuan you Ping xuehui yuekan* (hereafter abbreviated as SYPXX) vol. 6, no. 1, 1934 p. 1

[101] *SRB*, 15 January 1935.

figured in plans for Shanxi's development. From Yan's assumption of this office, important military and governmental leaders in Suiyuan including Fu Zuoyi periodically traveled to Taiyuan, in the words frequently employed in the *Suiyuan Daily*, to "report all" (*baogao yiqie*) to Yan as head of this office. The broad powers of this super-ordinate position enabled Yan to override provincial distinction in August 1932 to launch his plan for military land colonisation in western Suiyuan. This project was supervised by his loyal lieutenant, Wang Jingguo, the commander of the 70th Division. Suiyuan now came under the control of two Shanxi military forces: the two divisions of Fu Zuoyi's 35th army and Wang Jingguo's 70th Division.[102] An important part of Yan Xishan's interest in domination of Suiyuan stemmed from his desire to control the lucrative opium trade. Suiyuan in this sense was an important transit area for opium grown in Gansu and Ningxia.[103]

In sum, Suiyuan's separateness as an administrative space was heavily compromised from the start by its powerful former parent, despite occasional protests and disquiet from some nativist and anti-Yan Xishan elements of the Suiyuan intelligentsia. Shanxi's dominance remained as an integral part of Suiyuan provincialism.[104] If Suiyuan was lost as a separate space in the context of Shanxi, however, it at least partially regained a separate identity as a place within contemporary nationalist discourse on geography. Indeed, the ultimate rationale for Suiyuan's existence as a place within the Republic in the minds of Suiyuan's officials from the early 1920s onwards was Northwestern development.

[102] Following Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxiang's defeat in the war against Chiang Kai-shek in late 1930, Zhang Xueliang (who had sided with Chiang at a critical moment) was given the task of reducing and reorganising the Yan and Feng armies. Zhang divided Yan's forces into four armies (*jun*) within the new national army: the 32nd, 33rd, 34th, and 35th armies. The 70th Division was one of the two Shanxi divisions (the other was the 71st division) reorganised as the 34th army under Yang Shouyuan. Fu Zuoyi's 35th army was made up of the 72nd division under Li Shengda and the 73rd division, personally commanded by Fu Zuoyi. See Jiang Shuchen, *Fu Zuoyi zhuanlüe* (Beijing: Zhonghua qingnian chubanshe, 1990), p. 17.

[103] Owen Lattimore, "The Eclipse of Inner Mongolian Nationalism," *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers 1928-1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 436. For a detailed memoir of this period by a local Suiyuan official see Zhao Guoding and Liu Yangyuan, "Shiyuan tang jiuhua," pp. 75-88.

[104] See for example the complaints about Shanxi bank scrip in the local economy in "Qusui zhanzheng yingxiang yu Suiyuan minzhong de tongku," in *SYPXX*, vol. 2, no. 2/3 (April 1931), p. 11. See opposition to Yan Xishan's demand for an increase in Suiyuan's contribution to military expediture in "Fandui Taiyuan suijing gongshu zengpai junfei xuanyan," in *SYPXX*, vol. 4, no. 3/4 (April, 1933), p. 2.

Placing Suiyuan in the Republic: Suiyuan and the Northwest

On 18 September, 1931 Japanese troops stationed near Shenyang (Mukden) in Liaoning Province orchestrated the Mukden Incident. This ultimately led to the Japanese occupation of the Northeastern three provinces of Heilingjiang, Jilin and Liaoning by January of the next year and the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo which incorporated this area and eastern sections of Inner Mongolia. Protests were held around China, including in Suiyuan. The loss of Manchuria brought a new imperative to national politics in China. This ruthless geographical dismemberment of the nation forced to the fore a national concern for geography. The tragedy of the Northeast turned the national gaze to other national territory under threat, the Northwest, an expanse of territory which many felt had been sorely neglected and ignored by the Chinese nation up to this point. It became commonplace in journalism and writing after 1931 to observe that it was only after the loss of the nation's Northeast that those interested in national affairs had begun to take notice of their Northwest.[105] Magazines devoted exclusively to Northwestern issues sprang up full of articles on Northwestern development and defence. Over 70 different periodicals dedicated to the Northwest appeared in China between 1931 and 1945 as opposed to just five before 1930.[106] Universities throughout China organised Northwestern survey expeditions, teams, and clubs. Chaoyang University in Beiping created a course in Northwestern studies, and two books exclusively devoted to Northwestern geography appeared successively in 1932 and 1933.[107]

Exactly what the term Northwest included was imprecise. Different writers and users of the term intended different spatial meanings and, by the 1930s, its meaning fluctuated between two spaces. First, the term had a rich imperial heritage and flavour. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, Qing officials and writers had used the term "*xibei*" as a signifier for the broad swathe of Qing Inner Asia from Tibet in the west to Inner and Outer Mongolia in the North. This was not the medial position between these two points of the compass but the North

[105] Instances of this observation are myriad; for a local example see the preface to the Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (comp.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao*.

[106] Hu Pingsheng, "Jindai xibei shi yanjiu zhi huigu," in *Minguo yilai guo shi yanjiu de huigu yu zhanwang lunwen ji* (Taipei: National Taiwan University History Department, 1992), p. 1622.

[107] These were: Wang Jinfu, *Xibei dili* (Beiping: Lida shuju, 1932); and Wang Gongliang, *Xibei dili* (Nanjing: Zhengzhong shuju, 1935).

and West—the Northern and Western frontier lands of the former empire. Second, the breakdown and dissolution of the old imperial geography and geographical understanding had seen the gradual development of a newer meaning of the term, a space more strictly defined by the science of geography which typically incorporated both former dependent territory, now provincialised, and the provinces of China Proper. A common new definition repeatedly used in the 1930s comprised six provinces: Suiyuan, Shaanxi, Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, and Xinjiang. Chahar and Shanxi were also sometimes included but there was still much contention and disagreement.[108] Clearly this was symptomatic of a move towards the notion of Northwest connected in an integral sense to the nation and not the old idea of North and West as a series of administratively distinct border regions. In the nationalist context the manifold definitions of North and West/Northwest added a flexibility to nationalist discourse on border space. At the same time, although the content of the term was changing, it still evoked its older associations and older notions could still survive and be championed. The term was discursively complex but the geo-spatial imprecision functioned discursively to nationalise this space.

Although the Chinese nation had been largely forgetful of its Northwest and was guiltily being called to account after 1931, elites and contenders for power in Suiyuan had discovered Suiyuan's place in the nation's Northwest at an earlier date. The cause of Northwest development had been championed from the start of the Republic by such groups as the Northwest Progress Assistance Association made up of former Qing officials with an interest in frontier affairs.[109] One of the early newspapers to appear in Suiyuan was the *Xibei shiye bao* (The Northwest Industrial), a daily supported in part by the Guisui Chamber of Commerce which ran from 1918 to 1926.[110] Zhang Dingyi

[108] For a long list of different definitions used by writers in the 1930s see Zhang Li, "Jindai guoren de kaifa xibei guan," in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 18, (June 1989), pp. 164-167.

[109] See for example the congratulatory dedication by Yao Xiguang in the first issue of the society's journal, *Xibei zazhi*, no. 1, vol. 1, (November 1912), *zhu ci* section, pp. 5-6. Yao Xiguang was born in 1856. In his early years he served as secretary for Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong. In 1909 he became head of the Border Colonisation College (*zhi bian xuetang*). Before this he had advised the court on Mongol policy. He became vice-head of the early Republican Ministry of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. See *Minguo renwu da cidian* p. 636 for a brief biography.

[110] Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu* p. 168. The earliest newspaper to appear in Guisui was the *Guisui ribao* (1913) which became *Yi bao* (1914-1916). *Sui bao* appeared in 1916 and did not last the year. In 1917 two newspapers briefly appeared for a few months: *Qingnian bao* and *Shang bao*. See pp. 166-168.

alludes to Suiyuan's place in Northwestern development in *Historical Records of Suiyuan* published in 1921.[111] In 1923 the Chinese Northwest Assistance Society sent a member to Guisui to organise a branch of the Society in Suiyuan. As a measure of the enthusiasm with which he was greeted, most of the key officials in Ma Fuxiang's administration and in local county administration attended the first meeting of the new branch in January 1924. Those assembled declared "Suiyuan as the centre of the Northwest" (which later become a common characterisation), agreed upon a branch constitution, and elected Military Governor Ma as the head of the new branch. A plan for future projects passed at the meeting included the establishment of a school for agriculture and forestry, the organising of an agricultural-industrial bank and a pasture reclamation company, and the construction of new roads and villages.[112]

The language of Northwestern development grew even more prevalent in the next two years during the Feng Yuxiang regime in the area. Feng had gained the title of *Duban* for Northwest Border Defense several years previously and his administrations in Suiyuan and Chahar collectively styled themselves as the "Northwestern Authorities" (*xibei dangju*). Feng's version of the Northwest was determined by his political reach which was limited to Suiyuan and Chahar and later Gansu. In early 1926 Feng grandly called for the establishment of a "United Northwest Provinces University" in Baotou and unveiled a detailed three-stage "General Plan for Northwestern Land Colonisation" which concentrated upon locations in Suiyuan and Chahar.[113]

Two factors influenced the development of Suiyuan's positioning within Northwest discourse after Feng Yuxiang's retreat in mid-1926. First, except for a brief period during 1927, Suiyuan, as we have already noted, fell within the sphere of Shanxi political control. The political power holder in Shanxi, Yan Xishan, also maintained an interest in the question of Northwestern development and used the concept for his own purposes. As we have seen, in 1932 Shanxi troops occupied a section of the Houtao and used the land to establish a military land reclamation project. Yan justified this direct occupation

[111] See Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 10th juan, passim.

[112] "Zhonghua Xibei xiehui Suiyuan fenhui chengli xiangqing," *Xibei banyuekan*, no. 2 (February 1924), pp. 21-22.

[113] For a report on the University see *Xibei huikan*, no. 3 (1925), p. 46. The General Plan is serialised in *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1, no. 5 through to no. 10, (1925).

of Suiyuan land in terms of "Northwestern development."[114] Second, the issue of Northwestern development became a recognised priority, at least in name, of the new government in Nanjing from 1929 onwards. The slogan "develop the Northwest" (*kaifa Xibei*) gained official GMD recognition as an item of national developmental policy.[115] In December 1932 the Nanjing government released its "Plan for Northwestern Development" and established a Committee for Northwestern Expansion (*Xibei kuozhi weiyuanhui*) directly under the government's Legislative Yuan and with four attached bureaus: National Roads, Industry Promotion, Mining, and Land Colonisation (*kenzhiju*).[116]

The sudden popular interest in the Northwest after 1931 added a layer of enthusiasm to what already existed. In the 1930s the most voluminous writing on Suiyuan outside of Suiyuan occurred in the pages of Northwestern magazines. Locals also adopted the term. The magazine published by the Suiyuan Province Fengzhen County Beiping Students' Association changed its name from *Feng chuan xin sheng* (literally: New Voice of Feng River) to *Xibei qingnian* (Northwest Youth) in 1932.[117] In the summer of 1934 over ten Northwest survey teams visited or passed through Guisui including groups from Yanjing University in Beiping, Jinling University in Nanjing, and Shanghai's Fudan University. All were responding to the call to "develop the Northwest."[118] One hundred members of the "Develop the Northwest Assistance Society" visited Guisui in early August 1934 with much fanfare and banqueting after the close of their second national conference held in Zhangjiakou.[119] Earlier in the year a meeting similar to the one held to found the Suiyuan branch of the Chinese Northwest Assistance Society in 1923 was attended by much

[114] *SRB*, 27 February 1933.

[115] The Nanjing government's Committee for Construction dealt with Northwest development in a general "Plan for Construction" submitted in July 1930. A specific "Plan for Northwest Development" was released by this committee in May 1931. See *Geming wenxian*, vol. 89, pp. 77-141

[116] "Kaifa Xibei an" (passed at GMD's 4th zhongyang zhixingweiyuanhui 3rd plenary session 19 December.1932) *Geming wenxian* vol. 89 pp.7-29. The definition of Xibei here was "Shaanxi, Ningxia, Qinghai, Suiyuan, Xinjiang, as well as Western Outer Mongolia, Uliasutai [Tangnu wulianghai], Kobdo, Altai and other places."

[117] Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu*, pp. 102-103.

[118] "Cong kaifa Xibei shuodao kaocha Suiyuan," *Hanpu*, no. 14 (1934), p. 1.

[119] "Kaifa Xibei xiehui dierjie nianhui baogao," *Geming wenxian* vol. 88, pp. 621. The conference was originally planned to be held in Guisui. However flooding had severed the rail link to Guisui and the Society moved the proceedings to Zhangjiakou . visiting Guisui after the rail line reopened several days later. See p. 683.

the same type of local officials, including the Suiyuan provincial chairman, Fu Zuoyi, to found the Suiyuan branch of the Develop the Northwest Assistance Society.[120]

Two major themes were apparent in Republican discourse on the Northwest. First, as has been described, advocates of the Northwest called for its economic development. Debate over and advocacy of land reclamation, agriculture, and pastoralism in Suiyuan all occurred within the framework of this first discursive theme. The agricultural experts who visited Suiyuan in the 1920s and collected statistics and the various "Northwest survey teams" who passed through the area in the 1930s, as well as Suiyuan's administrators and educated elites, all situated their recommendations and arguments within this developmental purpose. Besides featuring in debate over modes of development, Suiyuan also featured in the arguments over the sequence of Northwest development. By the mid-1930s some advocates of Northwest development argued that national developmental resources should first be directed to Suiyuan. Suiyuan, because of its location, was the central pivot of the Northwest, and its position as the termination point of the only modern transport link into the Northwest—the Ping-Sui railway line—reinforced its centrality. As several writers put it, Suiyuan was the "Near Northwest" as opposed to the "Far Northwest" and the national government should approach Northwest development strategically by first developing Suiyuan before proceeding further afield.[121]

Suiyuan also played an important role in discourse on Northwest development by virtue of the Houtao (most commonly referred to as the Hetao, see Chapter One for a discussion of the two terms). From the start of the Republic the Houtao region was held to be the most promising example of what the Northwest could become because of its fertility and its successfully developed irrigation infrastructure. Indeed its contemporary renown and fame as an historical region were such that in some accounts it floated free of moorings as a component of Suiyuan and existed as a space independent of its administrative provenance.[122] The Houtao attracted by far the most surveys, assessments, and travel and journalistic accounts of any "Northwest" location. In Autumn 1932 the Nanjing government, in one of its first

[120] "Kaifa Xibei xiehui dierjie nianhui baogao," pp. 621-686.

[121] See for example Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (comp.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao*, xuwen.

[122] See for example the two prefaces to the *Xibei kenzhi jihua* (Beiping: Nanyun he gongcheng ju, 1935), which make no mention of Suiyuan.

concrete moves in accord with the "Develop the Northwest" policy, nominated an area inclusive of the Houtao and Ningxia as a special "land colonisation district" (*kenzhi qu*).[123]

The second major theme in discourse on the Northwest was the elaboration and exploration of the Northwestern space as a national place. This had begun in the very early years of the Republic. A contributor to *Northwest Magazine* in 1912 wrote that "scholars of race all say that the Chinese race (*Zhongguo minzu*) originated on the Northwestern high plains."[124] By the 1930s this had become part of official policy. In a resolution on the need to develop water conservancy in the Northwest to relieve famine and starvation passed by the Central Administrative Committee of the GMD in March 1930, "the provinces of the Northwest—Gansu, Shaanxi, Henan, Shanxi, and Suiyuan" are argued to be "the earliest place from which our nation spread."[125] It is no accident that in the midst of the Northwest craze after 1931 the famous historian Gu Jiegang established *Yu gong*, a journal of Chinese historical geography, and that several issues of this journal were dedicated to the Hetao. Indeed Gu visited Suiyuan in the mid-1930s and wrote a laudatory biographical monograph on the famous Hetao channel builder of the late Qing, Wang Tongchun. This was published both as an article in *Yu gong* in 1935 and as a Ping-Sui railway information pamphlet for the edification of travelers bound for Suiyuan.[126] By virtue of such discussion and speculation Suiyuan moved from the fringes of the nation to its centre. Suiyuan's historical geography, already discovered as significant in justifying Han occupation and claims to the area by Zhang Zhidong, gained a new layer of meaning. The Suiyuan government official Gao Boyu in a speech in October 1932 saw Suiyuan as the site of an ancient national tragedy which was only beginning to be put right:

> Today's Suiyuan does not compare to the Suiyuan of ancient times...There are records of Suiyuan's history in China's books of history dating back to the Zhou dynasty. From the Han [dynasty] onwards it is particularly detailed. At the time of the Han [dynasty] four

[123] *Geming wenxian*, vol. 88, p. 2.

[124] Hu Yingjin, "Xibei zazhi fakan ci," *Xibei zazhi*, vol. 1, no. 1, (November 1912), zhu ci section, p. 7.

[125] "You zhongyang yu difang jianshe jiguan hezi kaifa Huang, Zhao, Jing, Wei, Fen, Luo, Lei deng he shuili yi jiuji Xibei min shi an" (resolution passed at 3rd zhongyang zhiweiyuanhui 3rd plenary session 3 March 1930), *Geming wenxian*, vol. 90, p. 1. Note that this version of the Northwest is yet another use of the concept.

[126] See Gu Jiegang, "Wang Tongchun kaifa Hetao ji," *Yu gong*, 2nd juan, no. 12 (1935). The railway pamphlet by the same name also came out in 1935.

> commandaries were established and altogether they had over forty counties, several times greater than the number of counties which exist now. Around the time of the Han [however] Suiyuan was occupied by a type of nomadic pastoralist people, who the historical records call the Hu, the Xiongnu, and the Danyu. They all lived nomadically in the Hetao and other regions. The succeeding dynasties through many generations often suffered their aggression... At the same time we also know that the point of origin of the Han nation was the high plains of the Northwest... No matter from which perspective one looks, Suiyuan's situation in the past was many times better than at present. It is since the five Hu created havoc for China that Northwestern civilisation was gradually extinguished. Now we must start all over again to build and to colonise this land. This is where today's Suiyuan does not rival its ancient history.[127]

Suiyuan's eighteen county-level administrations and the activities of its land reclaimers and officials took on a grandly nationalist purpose in such a light. The project of Suiyuan's construction becomes a part of the re-appropriation of the ancient Northwestern lands of the Chinese nation.

The dominance and influence of Shanxi in Suiyuan, and Suiyuan's positioning within discourse on China's Northwest were both multi-faceted and acted on Suiyuan in many ways. Further aspects of these two themes will be explored in later chapters. This chapter began by observing the link between land reclamation and Suiyuan's administrative and territorial elaboration. We return to this question of land reclamation in the construction of Suiyuan in the next chapter.

[127] Speech by Suiyuan government official Gao Boyu reported in *SRB*, 10 August 1932. Gao was situating Suiyuan within a popular formulation of the Northwestern problem at the time. This was most influentially espoused by the GMD ideologue Dai Jitao, who argued that the diffusion of Han culture from its cradle in the Northwest was really a story of defeat. The Han were forced to flee southwards by the barbarous steppe peoples—Mongols being the most recent version of such people—and the Northwestern homeland was overwhelmed by the forces of barbarism. "We must return to our ancestral home!" declaimed Dai. "We must recover the glory of our Northwestern culture in the history of the nation." See Dai Jitao, "Xiang xibei meng jin de liang da yiyi," in Dai Jitao (ed.), *Xibei*, 3rd edition (Nanjing: New Asia Study Society, 1933), p. 12.

CHAPTER THREE

LAND RECLAMATION, AGRICULTURE AND PASTORALISM

> Primeval Suiyuan, land bounding the
> Mongol borders,
> All is backward, and anxiously awaits
> taking in hand...[1]

In late 1901 the Shanxi governor, Cen Chunxuan, had much to occupy him. Cen had been appointed to this post in 1900 in the wake of the Boxer turmoil, the wave of anti-westerner violence that had swept through Northern China, areas of Inner Mongolia, and Manchuria in the previous year. Support for the Boxers had been strong in his new jurisdiction.[2] Cen's predecessor as governor of Shanxi, Yu Xian, was a well known champion of the Boxers and "religious cases" (*jiao an*)—incidences of Boxer violence for which compensation was demanded—were particularly numerous in the seven sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit and even further afield in several of the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues. In Boxer-related matters the governor's purview extended even beyond the formal Shanxi control of the seven sub-prefectures to the banners of these two Mongol leagues. In Dalad Banner in Yeke-juu League, hundreds of Christians had been killed by local banner soldiers, five churches destroyed and church property looted and burned.[3] Again, north of the Daqing Mountains in Ulaanchab's Dorben Keukhed Banner, missionaries

[1] Part of a congratulatory verse penned by the Suiyuan Provincial GMD Party Affairs Guidance Committee (*Suiyuan sheng dangwu zhidao weiyuanhui*) published in the first number of *Suiyuan jianshe jikan*, no. 1 (1929), front section.

[2] Cen emerged as a favorite of the Empress Dowager during this period, reputedly earning her praise for his handling of disturbances in Guangdong and Guangxi. See Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Power and Politics in Late Imperial China: Yuan Shi-kai in Beijing and Tianjin, 1901-1908* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press: 1980), p. 44.

[3] See Yigu, *Suiyuan zuoyi*, quoted in An-zhai-ku-zhi (Anzai Kuraji), "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," *Menggu shi yanjiu cankao ziliao*, no. 6 (1963), p. 37.

occupying grazing land had been attacked.[4] Meanwhile a large group of local sub-prefectural officials including the Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief had been dismissed and variously punished for their involvement with the Boxers and Cen and his subordinates were embroiled in delicate negotiations over compensation with foreign missionaries in the area.[5]

On top of such matters, from May onwards, instructions came from the Qing court in exile in Xi'an demanding large financial contributions from the provinces of China Proper to meet western demands for reparations for the Boxer violence. Cen repeatedly pleaded that Shanxi's poverty and the large number of compensation cases in the area made it difficult for the province to contribute. The Court, however, would accept no refusal and in the face of mounting pressure, Cen proposed "the opening and reclamation of Mongol land" (*kaiken Meng di*) in the "Northwest Shanxi border [region] and the thirteen banners of the two leagues of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu."[6] The court quickly gave its assent and on 5 January 1902 issued Cen's memorial and instructions for the appointment of the high-ranking Manchu official Yigu as "Imperial Commissioner for Reclamation Affairs in Mongol Banners" (*qin ming duban Meng qi kenwu da chen*) and his dispatch to Suiyuan town to begin work.[7]

Cen's proposal was not particularly new. During the middle years of the Guangxu period (1875-1908) successive Shanxi governors such as Zhang Zhidong, Gang Yi, and Hu Pingzhi all memorialised in favour of opening up "Mongol wastelands" (*Meng huang*) in the area

[4] Sechin Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince, the Life and Times of Demchugdongrob, 1902-1966* (Bellingham, Washington: Centre for East Asian Studies Western Washington University, 1999), p. 7.

[5] See various memorials for Guangxu 27th year (1901) as extracted in Xing Yijian (ed.), *Qing ji Menggu shi lu* 3 vols. (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu shehui kexue yuan Menggu lishi yanjiusuo, 1981), vol. 2, pp. 330-337. The Belgian Catholic order, the Scheut Fathers (Congregatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae), were the main Christian missionary organisation involved in these negotiations.

[6] Quoted in Wang Bingming, "Shi 'fangken Mengdi' hai shi 'yi min shi bian,'" *Studia Historica Mongolica*, no. 3 (1989), p. 193.

[7] Wang Bingming, "Shi 'fangken Mengdi'" p. 193. Wang Bingming provides a detailed account of Cen's correspondence with the court leading up to the famous memorial. Wang reveals that in earlier memorials Cen had protested that the exploitation of Shanxi's obvious natural endowments, in particular the opening up of Mongol lands, would not be profitable in the short term and thus would be of little help in alleviating the Court's immediate financial crisis. Yigu held the post of Senior Vice-President in the Board of War in the Qing central government before his appointment to the new post.

of Shanxi's northern borders and in Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues to agriculture.[8] Besides basing their appeals upon the need for official recognition of the status quo in the area and the changed status of Mongols—as Hu Pingzhi contended in a memorial submitted in 1898, "Mongol livelihood [now] comes from rent [of land to Han peasants] rather than herding"—these appeals also argued for land reclamation for defensive purposes.[9] In these officials' eyes, the lawlessness and uncontrollability of this de facto frontier phenomenon led to the increased vulnerability and insecurity of such areas. Although the need for increased income forced the Court finally to assent to changing its policy in 1902, earlier proponents of land colonisation had argued its merits in terms of strengthening territorial integrity in the face of Russian threats to border areas of the empire.

Later in 1902 Cen was moved from Shanxi to take on a position in Sichuan. The brevity of his involvement notwithstanding, Cen's memorial has become the historical marker for contemporary mainland Chinese historians tracing the origins and features of a host of new governing attitudes and calculations defining a total change in policy towards Mongols in the last years of the Qing dynasty. The implementation of Cen's proposal was the first step in the Qing court's adoption of what has become known as its policy of "immigration to strengthen the frontier" (*yi min shi bian*)—the official embracing of land colonisation and the encouragement of Han peasants to settle in Mongol areas in order to assure the territorial security of such areas. It is under this rubric that late Qing policy in Inner Mongolia has come to be known.[10] By contrast, as we have seen, earlier Qing security policy emphasised the rationale of keeping Mongol lands pristine and separate and Mongols segregated from Han.

Cen's memorial also functions as a marker in a more limited and local sense. It marks the shift in the territorialisation of the Suiyuan idea, the foundational event upon which Suiyuan as an area was

[8] *STZG* manuscript 22nd juan, part 1. A memorial of Hu Pingzhi on opening "Shanxi border Mongol territory" appeared in the influential Hunan reformist-sponsored newspaper *Xiang bao* in mid-1898 indicating the consonance of calls for the development of Mongol lands with the wider contemporary reform agenda. See "Shanxi xunfu Hu Pingzhi zhong cheng zouyi kai Jinbian Meng di zhe," *Xiang bao*, no. 77 (June 1898).

[9] *QJMSL*, vol. 2, p. 292.

[10] For a summation of mainland Chinese research in this area, see Ma Dazheng, "1978 nian yilai Zhongguo jindai bianjiang wenti yanjiu shuping (shang)," *China's Borderland History and Geography Studies*, no. 3 (1994), pp. 99-100.

created and which defined the course that Suiyuan's development was to take. Yigu's actions in southwestern Mongolia from 1902 to 1908 created the possibilities for the existence of the new administrative area and set the central developmental agenda which was to dominate and shape the meaning of this territory into the Republic—the practice of land reclamation.

Land Reclamation

The word *kaiken* can be literally translated as "to open and plough new soil" and is roughly equivalent in English to the term "land reclamation," or perhaps more clumsily, but most accurately, as "agriculturalisation." Historically the term was associated with the idea of converting waste land or wilderness into cultivated land. In some writings and documents concerning Suiyuan, "*ken*" was also often paired with the term "*zhi*" (literally to grow or multiply, and used by extension to express the idea of colonisation) to form a compound that can be translated as "land colonisation." This practice entailed the settlement of Han peasants in frontier areas of the empire during the Qing dynasty such as Taiwan, Manchuria, Xinjiang, Mongolia, and the southern frontier in Yunnan and Guangxi.[11] Land reclamation, however, was not exclusively a frontier phenomenon. It was also practiced in areas of China Proper. The growth of agricultural reclamation companies was a feature of the Chinese agricultural economy particularly in the period from 1912 to 1930 in provinces such as Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, as well as in frontier areas such as Manchuria, Chahar, and Suiyuan.[12]

In Suiyuan's case land reclamation entailed two activities. First and most famously, it involved the government-sponsored conversion of Mongol grasslands and pastures into settled, agriculturally-productive

[11] See John Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600-1800* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 395-408.

[12] Ding Changqing, "The Development of Capitalism in Modern Chinese Agriculture," in Tim Wright (ed.), *The Chinese Economy in the Early 20th Century: Recent Chinese Studies* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1992), p. 143. Based on early Republican central government statistics, Ding notes that agricultural reclamation companies prospered particularly from 1912 to 1920 and declined from then on. See also Li Wenzhi, *Zhongguo jindai nongye shi ziliao*, 3 vols, vol. 2, 1912-1927 (Beijing: Sanlian, 1957), pp. 339-367, for documentary materials on reclamation in different areas.

(and eventually) tax-remitting land. Such land was often referred to as *huang di*: wild, uncultivated, or virgin soil. Second and just as importantly, reclamation or "reclamation affairs" (*kenwu*) also involved the formal measurement, assessment, putting to sale, and enrolment in the tax registers of already cultivated but officially unregistered and untaxed acreage in Mongol areas. This was the product of so called "private" or non-official land reclamation (*si ken*). Substantial areas on the southern littoral of southwestern Mongolia—particularly the Houtao region, the Tumed plain and the Chahar area—were already agricultural in this sense before Yigu's arrival. This second activity represented the interposing of state authority into pre-existing de facto systems and arrangements of land ownership and land use rights between Mongols as landlords and Han peasants as tenants. Such land was sometimes referred to as *jiu ken*, "[land] already cultivated," although in many instances, because of its illegal status, pre-existing "privately" tilled acreage could also be termed "virgin soil" for the purposes of official reporting.[13]

The land reclamation enterprise in the Mongolian context had two interrelated implications. First, apart from areas which had already become agricultural in an unofficial sense, land reclamation involved a change in land use practices: the move from extensive pastoral use to more intensive agricultural use of land ("agriculture" here was understood in Chinese terms as *nongye*, i.e. cultivation of the soil and generally not inclusive of animal husbandry or more extensive forms of herding and pastoralism which was distinguished by the separate term *xumuye*). Officially-sponsored land reclamation played an important part in the development of agriculture and agricultural technologies such as irrigation in Mongol areas in the late Qing and early Republic, and this agriculturalisation of Mongol lands was seen as an important part of the development and modernisation of agriculture in China.[14] It also put pressure on the traditional Mongol pastoral economy as herders were forced from pastures.

As Mongols were largely (but not exclusively) pastoralists and Mongol identity was inextricably linked to pastoralism, land reclamation involved migration, either natural or planned, of Han settlers into Mongol areas to take on the running of farms in newly-opened areas. Land reclamation, then, was associated with the

[13] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 24th page.

[14] See for example the article, "Kenwu shuolue zhibian jiuguo," *Nong xue bao*, vol. 6, no. 21, 1898.

movement of Han peasant colonists into Mongol areas and the changing ethnic composition of the population in Mongol lands. Land reclamation lay at the heart of the politics of possession and identity and Mongol resistance and opposition played out in Suiyuan and Inner Mongolia in the period up to 1937.

From the arrival of Yigu in 1902 through to the establishment of the SSAR (Suiyuan Special Administrative Region) in 1914 and the Region's elevation to provincial status in 1929 and through the 1930s, Suiyuan existed in its most tangible and vigorous form as an agricultural developmental project. The *Historical Records of Suiyuan* of 1921 put it simply: "Suiyuan's [administration and] politics is based upon land colonisation..."[15] It is clear from various publications of Suiyuan local authorities over the period that political elites entertained other aspects of development for Suiyuan: mining and forestry, commerce, industrial production and infrastructural development were all reported on, considered, advocated and made the subject of plans, statistics and maps.[16] As we shall also see, modernised pastoralism drew its fair share of champions as well. Yet clearly the central problematic of developmental discourse in the Suiyuan context was land reclamation. As one author writing at the dawn of the Nanjing decade and the birth of Suiyuan as a province expressed it, reclamation of the land was the key activity which initiated the possibility of development and construction in other areas:

> Suiyuan's vast territory and wide expanses, its thousands of *li* of fertile soil, all await opening, but without anyone to reclaim and colonise [this land] how can Construction [*jianshe*] be assisted? And so in terms of the Northwest, undertaking reclamation is a prerequisite for Construction. Of all the past pioneers of the Northwest none has not first persuaded Mongols to report land for reclamation, then, following on, established an office to measure and dispose of the land to peasants attracted to the area to till the soil [*kenmin*]. Gradually villages cover the area like stars and farm paths crisscross... Then government offices are established and then commerce and education and a hundred other things begin...[17]

[15] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai taidong tushuju, 1921), 10th juan p. 1.

[16] See for example *Suiyuan jianshi jikan*, no. 1 (March 1929), passim, which evenhandedly discusses land reclamation in the context of other developmental approaches.

[17] Sun Huainan, "Kenwu yu jianshe ji minsheng," *Suiyuan jianshi jikan*, no. 1 (March 1929), p. 1.

However venal and corrupt they may have been, the soldiers, politicians, officials, and other wielders of power that came and went on the Suiyuan political stage before Japanese occupation in 1937 all saw themselves as taking part in a project of construction and modern development of a newly-opened frontier area. The chief developmental activity with which they were concerned was land reclamation. Their support for the practice was inspired by the gamut of motivations from personal enrichment to genuine enthusiasm for the cause of Chinese national development—specifically in Republican terms the development of the Chinese Northwest (*kaifa xibei*)—and the consolidation of this frontier area as a place within the Chinese nation.

This chapter falls into three main sections. The first part examines the beginning of the land reclamation project under Yigu. During this period many of the basic procedures for converting land were created and basic rationales developed. The second section looks at different facets of the land reclamation process and how it was represented and understood during the Republican period. In neither section does my approach aim to produce a detailed history of land reclamation and agricultural development of the area. For the late Qing period this has largely been done, in the late 1930s by the Japanese scholar Anzai Kuraji and by contemporary Inner Mongolian historians. For the Republican period, incomplete documentation and problems with modern day access make it difficult to gain a sufficiently detailed picture.[18] I will summarise the main features of these histories and instead will focus on how the language and practices of land reclamation contributed to the making or "construction" of Suiyuan. The final section looks at the broader question of agriculture and pastoralism in developmental discourse in Suiyuan. Land reclamation aimed at the movement from pastoralism to agriculture, and this ultimately gave meaning to Suiyuan as a place.

[18] See An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken." Modern contributions to this research can be found in the volume Nei Menggu dang'anju, Nei Menggu dang'anguan (ed.), *Nei Menggu kenwu yanjiu* vol. 1 (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1990). The IMAR Archives have published a large body of archival material on land reclamation in the late Qing, see the collection: Nei Menggu Zizhiqu dang'anguan (ed.), *Qing mo Nei Menggu kenwu dang'an huibian* 3 vols. (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1999). For a rare scholarly examination of land reclamation in Suiyuan during the Republic, see Se Yin, *Menggu youmu shehui de bianqian* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1998), pp. 17-33.

Official Land Reclamation in Southwestern Mongolia 1902-1908

On Yigu's arrival in Guihua Town in May 1902 he quickly summoned or visited the various authorities responsible for areas within his new brief. He had already met with Cen Chunxuan in Taiyuan on his way to take up his new position. Now he consulted with the Suiyuan Town General and the Chahar Commander-in-Chief. He unsuccessfully attempted to convene a meeting of the jasagh princes from the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues but the princes demonstrated their opposition to Yigu's mission by refusing to meet with him. In his meetings with authorities Yigu discussed the possibilities and methods for land reclamation within their jurisdictions. Yigu's brief was to reclaim lands in Mongol banners throughout southwestern Mongolia in an area stretching from the borders of Chahar in the east to the borders of Ningxia Circuit in Gansu province and Shaanxi in the west.[19] As we have seen, this area encompassed a variety of types of Mongol administrations and property rights regimes, from the directly-ruled Chahar banners and the Guihua Town Tumed banners to the more autonomous banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues.

The land reclamation process in Mongol lands was complex and required oversight of a sequence of steps. These were first formalised under Yigu and continued to be used in the Republican period. The first stage involved investigation and clarification of pre-existing land relations. Mindful of the wide variety of pre-existing systems of land relations and property rights, Yigu divided the area for agriculturalisation into five conceptually distinct units. The eastern reclamation district comprised the territory of the eight Chahar left and right flank banners. The left, or eastern, four banners were co-extensive with the area of three sub-prefectures administered from Zhili province while the remaining four right, or western, banners occupied the same area as Fengzhen and Ningyuan, the two eastern-most sub-prefectures of Shanxi province's Guisui Circuit at the time. He designated the area of the 13 banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues as the western reclamation district. In addition Yigu established an office for handling reclamation in the territory of the Guihua Town Tumed banners, another office to handle the reclamation of significant stretches of land belonging to the Suiyuan garrison's Manchu eight banner horse pastures which lay just over the Daqing mountains to the north of Guihua and Suiyuan towns, and

[19] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, p. 3.

finally an office to deal with the conversion of imperial postal station land in the area.[20]

Each of these offices was to proceed according to a specific series of "regulations" (*zhangcheng*) devised by the land reclamation bureaucracy to reflect the particular land relations of each area. These regulations specified the proportions of the proceeds of land sales and taxes to which the original Mongol holders were entitled and covered various other provisions such as measures to eradicate private profiteering, and the prevention of Mongol impoverishment. In theory land reclamation officials took Mongol opinion into consideration in formulating these regulations, though both popular and elite Mongol opposition to land reclamation remained strong, particularly in the Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu banners and the Guihua Town Tumed banners.[21] The process of devising and revising regulations and principles on land reclamation continued into the Republic (particularly in the case of Tumed banner land), so that by 1929 the Suiyuan General Bureau for Land Reclamation had become responsible for a considerable body of regulations and administrative determinations on everything from encouragement of land reporting to empowering heads of counties in Suiyuan to conduct land reclamation on behalf of the General Bureau.[22]

Once the regulatory framework had been proclaimed, the next step was to persuade, exhort, or pressure (*quanken*) Mongol authorities with control over land such as banner princes and officials, abbot lamas of monasteries and members of the Mongol nobility to "report" land for reclamation (*baoken*). This could be a drawn-out process and entailed dispatching officials to banners and monasteries to negotiate. Part of this process also sometimes involved the surveying of potential land, the accurate delineation of boundaries and the resolution of competing land rights claims between different banners. Just how the land would be disposed, who would retain control and remuneration rates had to be worked out. A range of options would be canvassed depending on the strength or weakness of the banner's position and established precedent. Under Yigu, Dalad Banner managed to

[20] There were twelve postal stations through the area; much like in the Tumed banner area, their allotments of land had become de facto agricultural rental land.

[21] The regulations on land reclamation in the Chahar banners were decided after consultation with the Chahar *dutong*. There was no other Chahar Mongol input. See An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 42.

[22] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.) *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao* (Guisui: 1929) pp. 1-45, gives a comprehensive list.

negotiate one section of reclaimed land as "*yong zu*" land, that is land to be permanently leased to tenants so that the land remained the property of the banner. This instance, however, was unique. In all other cases the process would formally remove land from banner, temple, or individual Mongol ownership and control and place it in the hands of the state to be sold off as virgin land. In theory a portion of the proceeds from the sale would then be given to the relinquishing Mongol party (see below for a fuller discussion).

Baoken was the formal reporting of which section of land would be yielded by the banner, monastery, or individual for reclamation. Perhaps as an indicator of the relative extensiveness of the land in Suiyuan in comparison with areas of China Proper the total areal figure would usually be expressed in *qing*, a larger Chinese unit of areal measurement than the unit of measurement most usually employed in agricultural land surveys in areas inside the Wall, the *mu* (one *qing* is equivalent to 100 *mu*). The next step in the process began with the establishment of an "agricultural land office" (*diuu ju*) in the area to measure and assess the agricultural quality of the reported land and finally to dispose of or "put to sale" (*zhangfang*—literally "to measure and dispose of") the land. A major distinction in the Suiyuan case lay between relatively productive and valuable irrigated land, termed *shui di*, and less productive and cheaper unirrigated land or *han di*. The total parcel of land would be divided into different categories of quality from superior to poor (different qualitative categories were used in different areas). In some cases this office was also involved in related projects regarded as preparatory work for properly reclaiming land such as digging new irrigation channels or repairing older channels.[23] According to its assessment of quality, the agricultural land office would then determine a price per *qing* for the land (*ya huang* or *di jia*) and the annual land tax per *qing*.[24] Depending upon the quality of the land, a non-tax period of several years would be

[23] An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 46.

[24] The distinction between *ya huang* and *di jia* lay in the agent disposing of the land: *ya huang*, literally "deposit for wasteland," referred to the first instalment of the price that the new owner paid to the state, with the remainder to be made good in fixed instalments at regulated periods. With *di jia* or "land price," the state had passed on the task of finding buyers (*zhao ken*) to a private agent who paid the deposit or *ya huang* and then sold the land according to a privately determined price and terms. For an example of this distinction in action see the narrative "Survey-record of land reclamation in the Hetao" in Jin Tianhe et.al., *Hetao xin bian*, 16 juan (1921, hand written copy of manuscript kept at Library of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot), 9th juan, 20th-21st pages.

specified before the land could reasonably be expected to be fully productive. Land then was sold and a *huzhao* (deed) would be issued.[25] Theoretically, the proceeds of the sale would then be divided according to an agreed proportion between the state and the relinquishing Mongol party, who would also be entitled to various proportions of the future land tax.[26]

Qingli was another term closely associated with the reclamation enterprise. It meant to clarify, reorganise, or "straighten out" property rights and accurately measure acreage totals. Officials used this process where extensive de facto rental of cultivated land already existed. As with virgin land, this already agriculturalised land was to be formally reported, measured, assessed, and then, if no legal entitlement could be proved by former owners or tenants, put to sale. Understandably, this process was particularly complex and particularly resisted as it was an unwelcome intrusion into de facto systems of property rights which had existed up to that time without state involvement. Mongols opposed it as it directly challenged their ownership of land or their customary rights to control of the land, and Han peasants tilling such land opposed it as in many instances, if they could not prove legal ownership, they would have to pay a second price for the land to continue using it. This problem was particularly intractable on the Tumed plain where, even as late as the 1930s, authorities still had great problems successfully clarifying acreage totals.

The largest and most promising acreage lay in the Western region, particularly in the fertile Hetao-Houtao area. Much of this was land that had already been privately rented out to Han cultivators by Mongol banners. Yigu, however, immediately met with resistance from the six banners of Ulaanchab league. The banners of Yeke-juu league were less united and the two northern banners of this league, Dalad and Khanggin banners, whose territory straddled both sides of the Yellow River through the Hetao, began to "report" land for

[25] In some areas there was a distinction between different types of deeds. For example, in the Tumed banner area, there was a *da zhao* or full deed for those who paid the complete land price and a *xiao zhao* or provisional deed for those that had paid a deposit on land. See Hu-ge-ji-le, "Lun Qing mo Huhehaote Tumote diqu de kenwu," in Nei Menggu dang'anju/Nei Menggu dang'anguan (ed.), *Nei Menggu kenwu yanjiu*, p. 173.

[26] Anzai Kuraji summarises the different arrangements for the apportionment of proceeds between Mongol parties and Yigu's land reclamation bureaucracy in the case of Yeke-juu league. See An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," pp. 42-44.

reclamation in 1903.[27] Dalad Banner in particular was forced to report land to raise money to pay compensation to foreign missionaries for Boxer violence. However, more generally, Yigu had to contend with the great reluctance of banner princes to report land for reclamation.[28] He also had to battle the entrenched power of Han "land traders" (*di shang*) in the Houtao, in particular Wang Tongchun, who from the late 1860s onwards had organised and dug an extensive network of irrigation channels in the Houtao and used his control over water to dominate land relations throughout the area. To eliminate the power of Wang and other land traders, Yigu forced them to hand over control of large tracts of land and the irrigation channels to the land reclamation bureaucracy.[29] Thus, besides reclaiming land, an important task of Yigu's officials in the Houtao was the dredging and clearing of the irrigation channels dug in the late 19th century. By the end of Yigu's tenure in 1908, these channels were claimed to irrigate an area of 7,000 *qing* annually. By 1908 roughly 20,000 *qing* of land from the banners of Yeke-juu league and 7,000 *qing* of land from the Ulaanchab banners had been officially measured, assessed, and sold or re-rented out to Han peasants. This land was mainly in the Houtao region.[30]

Converting Tumed Banner land was also a difficult task because of the complexity of land relations. Officials had to deal with a de facto system of land use and rental based upon the institution of Tumed Mongol hereditary claims to parcels of Household land (see Chapter One). Both Tumed Mongol holders of Household land and Han tenants resisted this official intervention into land relations. Only in 1906 did Yigu's agency commence work and by the time of Yigu's abrupt departure in 1908 around 9,000 *qing* had been formally "clarified and put to sale" (*qingzhang*) however, besides initial deposits, Yigu's office gained very little revenue and created much enmity.[31]

[27] Although, in the case of Khanggin Banner, this seems to have been very reluctant process. In the following year, 1904, Yigu dismissed the Khanggin Banner prince and chairman of the Yeke-juu League, Arbinbayar, from the league chairmanship almost certainly because of his resistance to land reclamation. See Henry Serruys C.I.C.M., "A Document From 1904 Dismissing an Ordos Prince From Office" *Central Asiatic Journal* no. 19 (1975), pp. 206-219.

[28] An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 40.

[29] For details on the development of this de facto system of agricultural development in the Houtao, its powerful Han land traders, and its fate at the hands of Yigu see An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," pp. 27-28.

[30] An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 47; Li Keren, "Qingdai Wulanchabu meng kenwu chutan," in Nei Menggu dang'anju/Nei Menggu dang'anguan (ed.), *Nei Menggu kenwu yanjiu*, p. 138.

[31] An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 44.

By comparison with his later experiences in the Houtao and Ordos and with Tumed banner lands, Yigu's work in the Chahar eight banners was easier. Chahar banner officials had less autonomy than their counterparts in the Tumed banners and in Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues. Large areas of the Chahar banners had become de facto agricultural fields in much the same ways as in the Houtao and on the Tumed plain. The Qing court had also granted large sections of Chahar banner land to Manchu and Mongol nobles for the purposes of horse or cattle rearing, and much of this land had also been "privately" rented out and become agricultural fields. After forcing banners and individual nobles to report such areas of "already tilled" fields, land reclamation officials formally measured and assessed these lands and put them in the hands of a land company (a jointly-run private and government enterprise supervised by Yigu) for sale.[32] In the six years of operation in the area, 15,000 *qing* was dealt with in this way in the Chahar Right banners and 11,100 *qing* in the Left banners. Yigu also converted 8,390 *qing* of postal station land and 2,490 *qing* of horse pastures on the Tumed plain and north of the Daqing mountains which belonged to the Manchu eight banner garrison in Suiyuan Town. By 1908 Yigu's organisation had formally reclaimed a combined total of over 70,000 *qing* of land in the five areas of operation.[33]

Yigu's work in the area ended abruptly in 1908 with his impeachment on a series of charges including corruption and the wrongful killing of an Ordos Mongol noble.[34] With Yigu's departure the land reclamation enterprise in southwestern Mongolia ground to a halt. During the investigation of his case, and as a part of his defence, Yigu reflected on the meaning and purpose of his land reclamation work in a memorial to the Court. He clearly recognised the sensitivity of the task at hand. Land had to be reclaimed but at the same time Mongol fears had to be assuaged: *xu Meng*, "giving relief to Mongols," was a delicate task. Yigu then gave voice to what would become a fundamental justification for the land reclamation enterprise. He argued that Mongol interests lay with the developing agricultural

[32] An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," p. 18.

[33] The figures are from An-zhai-ku-zhi, "Qing mo Suiyuan de kaiken," passim.

[34] The Mongol noble Dan-mi-er of Jungar banner was killed in a confrontation with land reclamation officials. Yigu's impeachment was avidly followed by the Qing elite. The Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief, Wen Zhehun, was Yigu's accuser. Bao Yu argues that the charges were malicious and an attempt by Wen to cover evidence of his own corruption. See Bao Yu, "Yigu yu kenwu tanhe an," *Nei Menggu dang'an shiliao*, No 2, (1993), p. 50.

economy and not with the older, decaying, and distorted pastoral economy,[35] and so the agricultural development of these areas would ultimately benefit Mongols. This in turn was part of a wider rationale based ultimately on the defence of the borderlands. The agriculturalisation of Mongol pastures would renew and revitalise the Mongol economy, opening and developing this territory would bring prosperity and help Mongols and, with a vigorous and healthy Mongolian segment of the borderlands, the empire's territory would remain secure. Possibly with a degree of retrospective self-justification Yigu wrote:

> In those difficult and extreme times the Northwest was empty, and the key to defence of the borderlands lay in strengthening Mongol lands. The task of strengthening Mongol lands centred upon opening the soil. In the past [access] to the land was restricted. Later it became a semi de facto open area. The livelihood [of Mongols] had long ago moved from pastoralism towards cultivation. The basic principle behind [official] land reclamation was that because Mongol lands had been dominated by de facto agriculturalisation [*si ken*] for a long time it was better to bestow [official] sanction for agriculturalisation. This could stimulate the use of Mongolia's natural resources for prosperity and would also help in cleaning up the corruption of de facto agriculturalisation.[36]

Yigu portrayed himself as faced with the difficult task of trying to create a fair system for land conversion in southwestern Mongolia which balanced governmental, Mongol, and Han interests and which recognised that Mongols in particular should derive benefit from the process. Yigu pointed out that he devised the land reclamation system with an awareness of the united opposition of Mongol princes to proposals made several years prior by the then governor of Shanxi province, Hu Pingzhi. Hu had urged the agriculturalisation of Mongol lands with only passing attention paid to Mongol objections, particularly about the future security of grazing lands. A central feature of Yigu's system of land reclamation was that Mongols would be remunerated: "half the virgin land price (*ya huang*) and the entire yearly rent will go to the banners."[37]

Yigu's attempts at changing land relations and converting land in southwestern Mongolia had not been greatly successful and yet the

[35] See Yigu's defence extracted in the *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 23rd-33rd pages, also paraphrased in Bao Yu, "Yigu yu kenwu tanhe an," p. 54.

[36] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 24th page.

[37] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 24th page.

land reclamation process that he created was to remain the basis for the further development of land reclamation in Republican Suiyuan.

Land Reclamation in Republican Suiyuan

As we have seen in the last chapter, Republican authority arrived slowly beyond the Wall. In October 1912, when Yuan Shikai finally appointed Zhang Shaozeng as the Republic's first Suiyuan Town General, Zhang also became the head of land reclamation for the area in keeping with the precedent set with Yigu in the previous decade.[38] The land reclamation enterprise, however, had never recovered from the sudden departure of Yigu in 1908.[39] Added to this was the unrest and uncertainty of the post-imperial situation in southwestern Mongolia. An observer traveling through the Houtao region in 1912 noted that "in areas of recently reclaimed land such as in Khanggin and Dalad banners and further afield, villagers are all unwilling to cultivate their fields and this has resulted in the greater half of these areas [returning] to wilderness..."[40]

General Zhang was preoccupied with other matters. In particular, Inner Mongolia's princes were undecided as to their position within or without the new Chinese Republic. The general eventually managed to convene a conference of banner princes from Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues in Guisui in early 1913 and, with a mixture of force and enticement, gained their formal backing for the Republic (See Chapter Five for more details on this conference). As with a similar conference of eastern Inner Mongol banner princes held in Changchun in November 1912, Mongol opposition to the reclamation of Mongol lands would have been an important item of discussion.[41] In such an atmosphere of tension, it was not the time to press princes to report yet more lands for reclamation.[42] Nonetheless the land reclamation office under Zhang was still active in working through the complexities of

[38] *Xibei zazhi*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1912), *faling* section, p. 11.

[39] *Hetao xinbian* provides details of the minimal land reclamation activities of Yigu's successors in the context of the Houtao and Yeke-juu league from 1908 to 1912. See Jin Tianhe et.al., *Hetao xin bian*, 9th juan.

[40] "Jinbian tiedao guan," *Dixue zazhi*, no. 6 (1912), *zawen* section, p. 10.

[41] *North China Herald*, November 23 1912, p. 511, speculates on the importance of the issue of land reclamation for Mongol princes at the Changchun conference.

[42] For a short account of Zhang Shaozeng's work in land reclamation see "Sui ken yange lüe shi," Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-162.

land relations and property rights in the Tumed Banner-"six county" area and his office formulated the *Revised Regulations for the Re-organisation of Tumed Acreage* in 1913.[43] Moreover Zhang emphasised the importance of land reclamation for the future of the area in his proposal for separation from Shanxi presented to the National Assembly in Beijing in late 1913. The future financial viability of the proposed SSAR was premised on growing returns from reclaimed land which would become agriculturally productive tax-remitting land. In this way the General estimated that the new Region would be more than able to support itself and its fiscal base would expand from 600,000 *yuan* to one million *yuan* per annum in a matter of "three or four years."[44] The new Region formally came into existence in January 1914 and Zhang Shaozeng quit the local political stage to be replaced by the new SSAR military governor, Pan Juying.

Early 1914 was an important time in the formulation of the Chinese Republic's policy on land reclamation. In March President Yuan proclaimed a set of regulations on "Undertaking Reclamation of National (*guoyou*) Wastelands." Immediately previous to this the Beijing government had addressed the question of land reclamation in Mongol lands.[45] Although continued governmental involvement in land reclamation lay at the institutional heart of the new Special Regions, in early 1914 Zhang Jian, as the head of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (*Nongshangbu*) in the Beijing government, made a case before Yuan Shikai's cabinet for the total withdrawal of government from land reclamation in Mongol areas. Zhang was interested in irrigation and water conservancy, and took a particular interest in development of the Hetao area and controlling the Yellow River. In his position as Minister for Agriculture and Commerce he had met with various local advocates for development of the Suiyuan area, including the famous Hetao irrigator and landlord Wang Tongchun.[46] Zhang argued that there was a serious need to win the

[43] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 1st-2nd pages. The six counties were Guisui, Salaqi, Tuoketuo, Helin'ge'er, Qingshuihe, and Wuyuan.

[44] "Wu Zhao (sic) liang meng guibing Guisui zhi jihua," *Dixue zazhi*, no. 43 (January 1914), zawen section, p. 20. The proposal was ratified by the National Assembly on November 13, 1913.

[45] Zhang Jian, "Tiaochen kaifang Meng di pochu jiu li ling bu xin gui cheng," in Zhang Jian, *Zhang Jizi jiu lu*, 6 vols. (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965), vol. 1, 8th juan, 6th-8th pages. The final promulgated regulations appear in *Zhenghu gongbao*, March 4, 1914.

[46] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 5th page.

confidence of Mongols, and part of this process demanded that the new Republic should distinguish itself from the despotic practices of old empire. The new Republic's reclamation policy for Mongol lands should instead recognise the Mongols' inalienable and permanent ownership of land. Once Mongol fears had been allayed in such a positive way Mongols would themselves continue the process of agricultural development by freely leasing out their land to Han peasants and development would continue apace without the intervention of rapacious and heavy-handed officials. The benefits would be immediately apparent: it would change Mongol feeling and make Mongols less susceptible to foreign lures while poor Han peasants would gain land.[47]

In effect Zhang was advocating a legally-sanctioned form of "private agriculturalisation" as a solution for the Republic. In marked contrast to Yigu, Zhang saw such non-governmental actors as Wang Tongchun as contributing positively to the development of Mongol lands. Zhang's close contact with Wang at this time explains much about his advocacy of such a policy. Although Yigu had dispossessed Wang Tongchun and circumscribed his power in the previous decade in order to gain governmental control of the developmental process, Zhang Jian and others in the early Republic looked upon Wang as the true champion of development of the Houtao. What Zhang advocated was a return to the de-regulated atmosphere in the Houtao in which Wang Tongchun had thrived. In 1914 Zhang invited Wang Tongchun to Beijing as an adviser and intervened when Wang was arrested on the orders of the military governor of the SSAR, Pan Juying, as he passed through Guisui. Later in the year Zhang Jian, in partnership with another champion of Wang Tongchun, the influential head of the Chinese Geographical Society, Zhang Weixi, provided the capital for the establishment of a privately-run reclamation company to develop land in the Houtao region.[48] The venture was ultimately unsuccessful and, in spite of Zhang's advocacy of a new approach to land reclamation, his ministry was one of the promulgators of the "General Rules Prohibiting the Private Sale [*si fang*] of Mongol Wastelands" of 19 February 1914. Attached to this was a "Seven Point Method for

[47] Zhang Jian, "Tiaochen kaifang Meng di," 7th page.

[48] Gu Jiegang, *Wang Tongchun kaifa Hetao ji* (Ping-Sui Railway pamphlet, 1935), pp. 18-19.

Rewarding Reclamation and Opening of Mongol Wastelands."[49] Republican governments, it seems, were committed to following the precedent set by Yigu and to remain actively involved in the conversion of land in southwestern Mongolia.

The Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation

In Spring 1915 Zhang Jian's Ministry, together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Neiwubu*) and the Ministry of Finance (*Caizhengbu*) of the Beijing government, jointly concluded work on a revised administrative structure for land colonisation in the Suiyuan area. A Beijing government representative, Nie Shuping, then traveled to Guisui in June of the same year to oversee the establishment of the Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation (*Suiyuan kenwu zong ju*). In December 1915 the Bureau sent out individual notifications to all banner princes and the two heads of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues on the establishment of the new office.[50]

The Bureau became a key institution in Suiyuan's government as it was to expand and develop in the hands of changing warlord regimes over the next 15 years and, after gaining provincehood, into the 1930s.[51] During the period up to 1928 the Bureau came under the joint supervision of the three Beijing government ministries named above and the SSAR military governor's office. However, as any central government control rapidly waned, the Suiyuan military governor became the most powerful shaping force.[52] The Bureau survived in its independent form throughout the period up to 1937. An organisational chart of the structure of Suiyuan's government from 1933 shows the

[49] "Jinzhi si tang Meng huang tongze," 19 February 1914, reproduced in Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao*, pp. 31-33.

[50] "Guanyu chengli Suiyuan kenwu zongju de tong zhi, wei pai ge weiyuan jige ling," Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-7, Doc. 13 (August 1915).

[51] There is some confusion as to exactly when Suiyuan's local government assumed control of this bureaucracy. The two most detailed accounts of the evolution of land reclamation during the Republic are *STZG* manuscript, 22nd *juan*, parts 2 and 3; and Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua* 2 vols. (Guisui: 1932), vol. 1, pp. 2-22.

[52] "Diaocha zongju ji fushu ge jiguan yange biao," Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-53, Doc. 1, (1915). The waning of Beijing government control is shown by the gradual diminishing of official correspondence between the Beijing ministries and the Bureau in the Bureau archives.

Bureau as having the equivalent status of a department within provincial government.[53]

Not long after its establishment a Bureau-edited memo described its tasks as the

> promotion of land reclamation (*quan ken*) in the two leagues of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab, land reclamation (*fang ken*) in the "Tumed six counties," and the clarification and determination (*qingli*) of acreage and the agriculturalisation of waste land (*fang huang*) in the eight banner pastures. It should [also] supervise subordinate branch bureaus and instruct them to speedily collect land rents and plan all matters pertaining to Mongol banners.[54]

Work on this list of tasks was manifest in the division of labour within the land reclamation bureaucracy. The General Bureau supervised the operations of a series of branches or sub-bureaus located in Suiyuan's main areas of land reclamation as they were inherited from Yigu. The Western Leagues Land Reclamation Sub-Bureau operating out of Wuyuan County was in charge of land reclamation and, up until 1925, the administration of irrigation in the Houtao region. The three Urad banners of Ulaanchab league came under a separate branch bureau located in Baotou. In the counties of the Tumed plain and in Tumed banner lands immediately beyond the Daqing mountains, the main task, as it had been under Yigu, was "clarification" of land relations. These areas were divided between two "Clarification of Acreage" sub-bureaus. The first, a branch based in the Salaqi County seat, was responsible for "clarification and measurement of Tumed Banner acreage belonging to Salaqi, Tuoketuo, and Qingshuihe counties and the collection of land price money from households."[55] The other sub-bureau operated out of Guisui and had a similar function for Tumed Banner acreage in Guisui, Wuchuan, and Helin'ge'er counties. Finally the General Bureau retained a branch in Wuchuan County to oversee land reclamation in the old Manchu eight banner grazing lands. Significantly this bureau quickly changed its name in 1915 to the non-specific "Bureau for Clarification and Measurement of Grazing Pastures Behind the Mountains." This change of name decisively

[53] See fold out organisational chart of Suiyuan Provincial Government in Suiyuan zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* (Guisui: 1933).

[54] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-53, Doc. 1. "Tumed six counties" is a shorthand reference to the six counties coextensive with Tumed banner territory i.e. Guisui, Salaqi, Qingshuihe, Helin'ge'er, Tuoketuo, and Wuchuan counties.

[55] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-53, Doc. 1.

signaled the severance of any identification of the area with Manchu special claims and the old empire.[56]

The number of administrative branches of the General Bureau expanded and contracted into the 1930s as different areas were reported for reclamation or clarification. Sub-bureaus were frequently merged or discontinued once they had served their purpose. Others, as has been highlighted in the previous chapter, formed the nucleus of preparatory county administrations. So, in 1923, the three Urad Banners Land Reclamation Sub-Bureau became attached to a new administrative entity, the Baotou Preparatory County. Both were subsumed in 1926 by the new Baotou County administration.[57] In a similar manner in 1925 the Western Leagues' Land Reclamation Sub-Bureau, which had handled land reclamation through much of the Houtao, was divided between two newly created administrations: the Dayutai Preparatory County and the Suiyuan General Bureau for Water Conservancy.[58]

To Work

In a communication the General Bureau submitted to its three supervising ministries in Beijing in early 1917, the acting head of the Bureau, Zhu Shuxin, outlined his assessment of the land reclamation and developmental task in Suiyuan. In Zhu's opinion Suiyuan was the area "on the vast Northwestern plains" that was "most suited to agriculture." However, since 1911, the area had been ravaged by bandits and half of the land that had been reclaimed under Yigu had been abandoned again. Zhu likened Suiyuan's situation to "dying from cold and hunger while embracing a fortune in gold. It is not that what heaven has bestowed is not bountiful." Zhu concluded: "rather, what people have designed has not been long-lived."[59] This paradox of immense developmental potential contrasted with the present dire

[56] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-53, Doc. 1.

[57] See various documents appearing in "Baotou shezhi banfa." Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-840 (March - November 1923).

[58] "Wu Yi liang meng lianhehui chengli jianzhang." Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-1060, Document no. 10 (May 12 1925). Dayutai's name was changed to Anbei in 1931 but it remained a preparatory county to the end of the period covered in this book.

[59] "Zongju cheng neiwubu ni ju jihua gaoyao wu duan." Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-163, Document no. 1 (late 1916/early 1917).

reality would remain a central theme and imperative in representations of Suiyuan in the Republic.

Land reclamation re-commenced haltingly after the establishment of the General Bureau. The period of Ma Fuxiang and Feng Yuxiang's regimes in Suiyuan, from late 1920 to mid-1926, proved the most active in the multiplicity of land reclamation projects, but land reclamation activities continued apace to the end of the 1920s.

The Houtao remained the area that attracted the most attention and efforts of land reclaimers, and the development of migration schemes related to land reclamation projects in this area is examined in the next section. In 1924 the head of the Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation called for the establishment of two new preparatory counties in the Houtao, Linhe in the west and Dayutai in the east, fearing that with the growth of reclamation in the area the Wuyuan County administration could no longer cope.[60]

The banners of Ulaanchab league were the most intensive in their reporting of land for reclamation in the period up to 1929. The most frequent land reporters were the three Urad banners. These covered the area around Baotou, and ran into the eastern extension of the Houtao region. In terms of total land area, however, the largest reporters were the more extensive of Ulaanchab's banners, Dorben Keukhed and Muuminggan banners. In 1919 Muuminggan Banner reported a vast section of land 25,000 *qing* in area and in 1926, after much pressure from the General Bureau, Dorben Keukhed Banner reported a 10,000 *qing* section of land that had been already extensively privately purchased and settled by Han peasants.[61] In Yeke-juu League, land reclamation efforts extended beyond the Houtao lands of Dalad and Khanggin banners to large areas relatively untouched under Yigu in Uushin, Jasagh, and Wang banners and, the most distant of all, Otog Banner. During the 1920s land reclamation officials also concentrated on large tracts of land belonging to Lamaist monasteries and temples throughout the Suiyuan area.

On the Tumed plain the Bureau remained involved in clarifying the complex land relations of the area as well as getting the very last pieces of Tumed Banner land processed and reclaimed. In April 1918, for example, the Bureau re-surveyed, re-measured, and re-assigned land use rights and generally tidied up acreage allotments in Tumed Banner "sixty per cent land" (*liu cheng di*), an area of the Plain whose

[60] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 32nd, 33rd pages.

[61] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 1, p. 18.

control was formerly contested by Dalad Banner (this dispute was settled in the late Qing by giving 60 per cent of the land to the Tumed banners and 40 per cent to Dalad Banner). The result was the discovery of an extra 1,000 *qing* of excess "waste" land to be reclaimed, measured, and then sold off.[62] The next year the Bureau began work on the major problem of "*liang di*" or "grain land" in the five counties of the Tumed plain and Wuchuan County, a total combined acreage of some 10,000 *qing*.[63] This land was originally horse grazing pastures belonging to the Suiyuan General and Tumed Banner lands that had been leased to peasants from the mid-Qing onwards. No land price had been exchanged and peasants usually paid their rent annually alongside taxes and levies to county authorities. However, there had been a steady decline in revenue from such lands. Corruption was rife; old registers were lost, huge areas were either tenantless and abandoned or were being illegally tilled with no taxes paid.[64] A combination of resistance from peasants settled on such land in Salaqi County and banditry led to the shelving of this project and the job remained to be undertaken in 1932.[65] Again in 1926, resistance led to the temporary halting of the clarification of land relations in Guisui, Wuchuan, and Helin'ge'er counties.[66]

In theory the Republican land reclamation enterprise in Suiyuan continued Yigu's practice of paying a fixed percentage of moneys earned from the sale of Mongol lands to their original Mongol holders. Detailed arrangements varied from banner to banner, but the principle of reimbursement for each *qing* of land reclaimed was an important feature of the system. In reality, however, reimbursement rarely, if ever occurred. In 1925, in an appeal for money addressed to the Beijing government, the General Bureau revealed that Mongol banners were still owed over 330,000 *yuan* in mortgage fees for land that had been successfully sold off. Mongols, the appeal admitted, had lost confidence in the Bureau and its "reputation was in the mud… At this

[62] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 9th page.

[63] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 1, p. 13. A distinction was made between "greater and "lesser" grain land (respectively *da* and *xiao liang di*). With the "greater" grain land rents, taxes, and levies were remitted to county authorities, and in the case of "lesser" grain land, rents went to the Mongol banner. See the last section of Chapter One for an account of the origins of this category of land in the Qing.

[64] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 9th page.

[65] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 1, pp. 13, 25.

[66] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 1, p. 19.

time of financial crisis in Suiyuan with land reclamation at the point of exhaustion, if no financial solution can be found it is sincerely feared that future difficulties will be even greater."[67] Zhang Jian had highlighted the effect that non-payment of Mongols had on Mongol willingness to comply with the land reclamation process more than a decade earlier.[68] And things seemed no better four years later in 1929 when the General Bureau acknowledged again that the majority of income from deposits for land (*ya huang*) had been used on "military pay," and that Mongol banners were still not receiving the agreed proportion of the proceeds.[69]

Planned Settlement of the Houtao

The growth in the numbers of Han peasants in the area during the 19th century was largely the result of natural movements of people from contiguous areas of China Proper such as the counties of northern Shanxi and Shaanxi, and from Ningxia Circuit in Gansu Province in search of land.[70] These areas continued to be the main source of Suiyuan's Han population in the Republic. By the 1920s, however, proponents of Northwestern development began to champion organised migration to the Houtao from more distant provinces as a solution not only for Suiyuan's development, but also for the problem of overcrowding in China Proper. The stark differences in the extensiveness and the cost of land between Southern China and Suiyuan seemed compelling. As one enthusiastic proponent of immigration to the Houtao for Hunanese peasants wrote in 1925: "the cost of one *qing* of land in the Northwest [in this context, the Houtao region] would be not enough for two *mu* of land in the South [of China] and it would have at least the productive capacity of 40 *mu* of land in the South."[71]

[67] "Cheng Suiyuan kenwu zongju xibei bianfang duban qing zhuan cheng zhongyang chou fa quanken diankuan shiwan yuan qi xun shi you," *Suiyuan yuekan*, no. 2 (March 1925), *shiye* section, p. 2.

[68] Zhang Jian, "Tiaochen kaifang Meng di," 8th page.

[69] *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao*, p. 8.

[70] Zhou Qingshu, "Shilun Qingdai Nei Menggu nongye de fazhan," *Menggu shi lunwen xuanji*, 5 vols, vol. 3 (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1983), passim.

[71] "Xiang min yiken jihua shu," *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1 no. 3 (25 September 1925), p. 17.

In 1923 and 1924 the governor of Shandong province proposed migration schemes of Shandong natives to Wuyuan County, but nothing concrete resulted.[72] Migration schemes entered a new phase in the following two years while the warlord Feng Yuxiang controlled the Suiyuan area. Feng was an enthusiastic proponent of both land reclamation and immigration under the banner of "Northwestern development." Feng's officials began actively to solicit for peasants from China Proper to come to the Houtao and settle the area. In response organisations such as the Hunan People's Cooperative Society For Northwestern Reclamation and Immigration (*Xiang min yiken Xibei hezuo she*), the Shandong Peninsular Society for Reclamation and Immigration (*Jiaodong yiken she*) and the Shandong Provincial Benevolent Reclamation and Immigration Society (*Lu sheng shouen yiken she*) were formed specifically to organise immigration of peasants from these areas to the Houtao region.[73] The Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* reported in May 1925 that the provincial government in Shandong had organised a scheme which encouraged each of the province's 107 counties to send ten peasants to "land immigrant reception centres" (*kenhu zhaodaisuo*) where they would be lodged and then transported to "Chahar and Suiyuan and other places." The first group of 450 such immigrants had already left for Suiyuan. Local officials from Wuyuan County organised a scheme whereby the local county and the Shandong provincial government shared the costs of bringing peasants from Shandong to Wuyuan to take up land. Some 700 peasants eventually arrived.[74]

Land reclamation officials were involved in the planning of the logistics of getting immigrants to the Houtao area, and Feng managed to persuade the Beijing government's Ministry of Transport to subsidise the train fares of immigrants traveling on the rail line that had recently been extended from Guisui to Baotou.[76] In early 1925 Feng's authorities established the "Northwest Reclamation Planning Society" (*Xibei kenwu chouhanhui*), which drew up an ambitious large-scale plan for Northwestern development with a three year

[72] *STZG* manuscript, 23rd juan, 3rd page.

[73] See *STZG* manuscript, 23rd juan, 3rd page for details on the two first named societies. "Zongju cheng ni yimin jihua," Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-1072 (April 1925-May 1926) contains correspondence from the last named society.

[74] *Shenbao*, 5 March 1925, p. 6.

[75] Song Jie, "Houtao nongken diaocha ji," *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1, no. 3 (25 September 1925), pp. 11-12.

[76] See various correspondence in Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-1072.

timetable for implementation. Promised funds from the central government in Beijing were not forthcoming. Nevertheless the society, first based in Zhangjiakou and then in Baotou, went on to assist a modest number of migrants to the Houtao by setting up reception centres at Beijing's Xizhimen railway station to dispense congee and tea for peasants boarding trains to Suiyuan, organising land for them when they arrived, and monitoring their conditions. These peasants were housed in eight new purpose-built villages in Wuyuan County.[77] The society also helped to arrange a visit from a survey team from Dongnan University in Nanjing headed by the American-trained agricultural economist, Tang Qiyu, to survey "Northwestern land reclamation," and a mapping team which surveyed the Houtao region and produced several detailed maps of the area.[78] Towards the end of 1925, after a year of busy activity, the society published *Essential Knowledge for People Taking up Reclaimed Land* (*kenmin xu zhi*) and *Questions and Answers on Reclaimed Land in the Houtao* (*Houtao kendi wenda*). Both publications gave explanations and details concerning the conditions that new settlers could expect in the Houtao district.[79] At the end of 1925 members of the society were said to be studying Mongolian, "to facilitate negotiations with Mongol banners."[80]

Feng's "Northwestern" regimes in Suiyuan and Chahar were short-lived and by August 1926 his army was in retreat, leaving elaborate plans and schemes as suddenly as they had been devised. Moreover, his once disciplined troops fell into disarray and ravaged the areas through which they passed. Few of the modest numbers of peasants that had arrived via organised migration schemes remained to

[77] See Song Jie, et. al. "Houtao nongken diaocha xuji," *Xibei huikan* vol 2, no. 1 (1 January 1926), pp. 26-27. This survey also contains a detailed map and diagram of the layout of the new villages.

[78] Tang Qiyu became a specialist advocate of land reclamation and went on to write monographs such as *Colonisation Studies* and *Research Into Military Colonisation Through History*; see biographical entry in *Minguo renwu da cidian* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991), p.761.

[79] *STZG* manuscript, 20th juan, 12th-31st pages reproduces both texts. From archival material it is clear that the Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation was involved in some of the same activities as the Northwest Reclamation Planning Society; however, the link between the two bodies remains unclear.

[80] All of this information comes from a chronology of events of the Society for 1925. See *Xibei huikan*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1 January 1926), pp.33-43; and no. 2 (8 January 1926), pp. 21-27.

till their plots in the Houtao.[81] By 1927, according to an official account of land reclamation in Suiyuan published five years later, banditry had revived and reclamation activity in Wuchuan County had again become difficult.[82] Suiyuan, as a result of prolonged drought and the extra burden of large numbers of troops in the area, entered a period of severe famine.

Explaining Reclamation

How did those involved in land reclamation in Suiyuan contextualise their enterprise in the Republic? Land reclamation in the Republic was broadly situated in Chinese nationalist discourse on national development. Reclamation and colonisation, according to one common characterisation, were ancient national techniques of consolidating and defending the borderlands of the Chinese nation and their excellence and suitability in the present inevitably gained from the rehearsal of this historical context in local gazetteers. As the *Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer of Suiyuan* reiterated in several sections: "land colonisation first appeared in our province in the [ancient] Zhou-Han period."[83] Ephemeral texts, such as the couplets on land reclamation appearing amongst the exhortatory and celebratory verses in the front section of the second issue of *Suiyuan Monthly*, a periodical put out by the SSAR government in 1925, could also play on this theme:

> Land Reclamation
> A scheme to pacify the borders from ancient times…
> To guard against autumn and at the same time to reclaim and colonise.
> To block the frontier and avoid campaigns.
> The great wastelands are full of immigrants,
> On the wild plains no desolate land remains.
> Accomplish this when it is timely,
> and never fear the stratagems of the north wind.[84]

Another strategy was to shorten the historical gaze and focus on the immediate events leading to land reclamation in the late Qing. Various Suiyuan government accounts took this approach. The wasteful Qing prohibition on agricultural exploitation of Mongol lands was retold, with the clamour of "border officials," particularly the Shanxi

[81] *STZG* manuscript, 20th juan, 7th page.
[82] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 1, p. 20.
[83] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 1st page. The Zhou-Han period runs from around 1000 BCE to CE 220.
[84] *Suiyuan yuekan*, vol. 1, no. 2 (March 1925), *zhuci* section, p. 4.

governors, in the late Qing period followed by Cen's famous memorial and the arrival of Imperial Commissioner Yigu. Yigu by the 1920s had become a hero pioneer of Suiyuan and Northwestern development. The General Bureau's own brief history of land reclamation in Suiyuan, most probably written in 1917, notes Yigu's "not inconsiderable role in initiating and laying the basis for Northwestern land reclamation administration."[85] The *Historical Records of Suiyuan* of 1921 in the introduction to its section on land reclamation concludes that, "although he was defeated, Yigu's contribution to opening the vast resources of the Northwest can never be taken away."[86] Wang Tongchun was also part of this narrative. A 1925 account describes Wang as a pioneer alongside Yigu in land reclamation who parted with his "5,000 *qing* of land, three irrigation channels, and thirteen houses" with the words "this land belongs to the nation and I am a citizen…" (*di wei guoyou wo wei guomin*).[87]

However, those passionate about land reclamation in Suiyuan also increasingly emphasised the modernity of the enterprise. Zhu Shuxin as acting head of the Suiyuan General Land Reclamation Bureau in 1917 singled out "reclamation of wasteland" (*kenhuang*) as a key element in the strength and prosperity of European powers:

> The path of reclamation of wastelands is a key technique of humankind and the major basis for the founding of a strong country… In ancient history there were no specialist [land reclamation] officials; in recent times the countries of Europe have each established specialist offices. In all cases the waxing or waning of a nation is determined by the reclamation or abandonment of wasteland. The flourishing and decline of agriculture determines that land reclamation has a close relationship with the nation.[88]

Zhu obviously saw land reclamation as gaining its ultimate meaning in the context of the modern world of empires and colonies. In a later passage he uses the term *kenzhi*, "land colonisation," and cites Japanese colonial policy in Manchuria as a successful example of what his enterprise could become if adequately endowed with the three crucial elements of transportation, security and finance: "if transportation is convenient then communication is easy, if security is well done then households will flourish, if finance is active then

[85] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-162.
[86] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 10th juan, p. 1.
[87] "Wuyuan xian zongdong Wang Tongchun xingzhuang zhi ke ji," *Suiyuan yuekan*, vol. 1, no. 2 (March 1925), *jizai* section, p. 1.
[88] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-163, Document 1.

livelihoods will be prosperous."[89] This modern world, however, formed a threatening environment for the Chinese Republic, its Northwestern borderlands and Suiyuan in particular. For once, however, argued Zhu, events conspired in China's favour. The great powers were embroiled in the European War. With Russia so distracted and Japanese power still weak in Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Chinese Republic "should seize the opportunity to devise a grand plan to consolidate the frontiers via opening and development."[90] Another voice from 1925 approvingly cited the example of American use of land colonisation in the 1860s to usher in a new era of agricultural prosperity for that country. As a result, by the end of the 19th century, America had become the number one agricultural country in the world. "Land is vast and people are sparse in our country's Mongol borderlands," concluded the writer. "How could [these lands] be inferior to the American Northwest at that time?"[91] Land reclamation in this sense was the key to consolidating Suiyuan and to making the Chinese nation modern and prosperous.

The Nanjing Decade: 1927-1937

Green, green are the [Da]qing Mountains,
Vast, vast is the Black River,
Alas my Suiyuan
its rich territory and countryside,
the key to the Mongol borders,
the secret pavilion of the Northwest.
The Nation is anxious.
The border situation grows tenser by the day.
Ravaged by soldiers
Bandits flourish
the wilderness is filled with people's cries,
Suffering afflicts the eye everywhere.
Who is concerned with the people's pain?
Who will deliver them from the rascals?

Only a sage…
And accordingly develop the wastelands,
open the wilderness, cut channels and dig wells,
urge and instill agriculture.
Construction for the People's Livelihood,
expend all to increase production!
So that the people prosper and goods are plentiful…

[89] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-163, Document 1.
[90] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-163, Document 1.
[91] "Fangken yu Menggu jiaoyu," *Xibei huikan*, vol.1, no. 5 (9 October 1925), p. 1.

So ran a dedicatory verse penned by Guan Zhonglin, an official in the Suiyuan Provincial General Bureau of Land Reclamation, to celebrate the publication of the first edition of the *Suiyuan Construction Quarterly* in March 1929.[92] Although still in the throes of a terrible famine, in an atmosphere of a successfully completed Northern Expedition and a new national order emanating from Nanjing which putatively took as its guiding principle the developmental program of Sun Yat-sen, Suiyuan's officials could cautiously look forward to central government encouragement and assistance in their own developmental task as a new institution, "the Party" (that is the *Guomindang* or Nationalist Party), formally appeared and interposed itself in local political life. However, from 1927 to 1937, Suiyuan's administration and politics remained solidly dominated by a political force of much greater proximity, the Shanxi warlord Yan Xishan. As noted in the previous chapter, the first chairmen of the new Suiyuan Province who briefly occupied the position successively from 1929 through to mid-1931, Xu Yongchang, Li Peiji, and Shang Zhen, were all functionaries of Yan Xishan as was Fu Zuoyi who held the position from August 1931 onwards. Feng Xi, another Shanxi man, remained as head of the Department of Construction and Shi Huayan, another protégé of Yan's, became head of the General Bureau for Land Reclamation. Opposite the large picture of Chairman Xu Yongchang on the first page of the new publication, the words of "Commander Yan" (i.e. Yan Xishan), and not the "father of the nation" Sun Yat-sen, were given pride of place.

In keeping with Suiyuan's new administrative status and the new order, land reclamation underwent reassessment and re-ordering from 1929 onwards. Two developments characterise this period. First there was a growing imperative among land reclaimers to make sense of what they had achieved and to take stock and render details of their accomplishment in summary statistical form. The second major development was a consequence of the consolidation of Shanxi's dominance over Suiyuan—the establishment of military land reclamation projects in the Houtao region.

[92] *Suiyuan jianshe jikan*, no. 1 (March 1929), first section, p. 2.

Surveying the Accomplishment

Land reclamation was ultimately a goal-oriented and finite process. As we have noted, the enterprise culminated with "measuring and putting to sale" (*zhangfang*) of land. Prior to this step, authorities assessed and graded land in terms of its agricultural quality, and set a price. Putting land to sale and obtaining a deposit from the buyer was the logical end of the process. Beyond receiving progressive payments from those who had paid a deposit on reclaimed land, land reclaimers in the 1910s and early 1920s did not much concern themselves with what happened after this.

Prior to Suiyuan's gaining provincehood in 1928 the General Bureau seemed little interested in rendering their achievement in summary form. The first detailed survey of land reclaimed in Mongol banners in the Suiyuan area appeared as a report in the early 1910s. The first general retrospective account of land reclamation, a report the General Bureau prepared in 1917 or 1918 for the eyes of administrative superiors, despite dividing its narrative into three periods (the period before and under Yigu, the hiatus from Yigu's dismissal in 1908 to 1915, and from 1915 to the present), makes no attempt to provide total figures of land converted in these periods.[93] On the other hand the first real gazetteer of the SSAR, the *Historical Records of Suiyuan* of 1921, contains a large section devoted to land reclamation which, besides long quotes from Yigu's memorials on land reclamation, also provides comprehensive banner-by-banner figures on the grading and prices of reported acreage. Once again, however, the compiler makes no attempt to synthesise or summarise the data.[94] Neither of these texts speculate on how much land remains to be reclaimed or where administrators find themselves in the process. Land reclamation remains a work in progress without any clear sense of an overarching plan or future direction.

In contrast, by the end of the 1920s, literature on land reclamation in Suiyuan begins to express a sense of arrival and completion of the

[93] Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-162.

[94] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 8[th] juan passim. It should also be noted that the *Hetao xin bian* of 1921 contains an extremely detailed "Hetao kenwu diaocha ji" which gives detailed figures on land reclamation in Ningxia, Houtao and Qiantao (literally "Front of the Hook" i.e. the remaining banners of Yeke-juu league). Both texts' details on land reclamation appear to have come from a slightly earlier Republican source: Gan Pengyun, *Diaocha Guisui kenwu baogao shu* (1916). See Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi kaoshu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 70, 180.

greater proportion of the task and to voice clear plans and projections for the future. Clearly Suiyuan's elevation to provincial status and the promise of the new national order also encouraged an accounting of the past and a drawing of a ledger line below past accomplishments from which to advance into a future which encouraged planning. The General Bureau's *Summary of Land Reclamation in Suiyuan* issued in 1929 claimed that around 196,000 *qing* of land had been reported in the period from 1902 to early 1927 and only 35,600 *qing* of this total remained to be sold. On this basis the *Summary* concluded: "the majority of the land that can be reclaimed in the closer Mongol banners in Suiyuan and the Houtao district has already largely been reclaimed. No large stretches of wasteland remain now [in this area]."[95] The *Summary* goes on to suggest that boundary conflicts with Gansu and Shaanxi provinces, which frustrated reclamation work in the more far-flung areas of Yeke-juu league during the 1910s and 1920s, may now be able to be solved in a new atmosphere of national unity and good order, and work can begin anew in these areas.[96]

The *Summary* also took stock of the past experiences of land reclamation in the new province and proposed a series of remedial measures to be implemented in the future. It warned of the alienation of Mongols: "in Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues 60 to 70 per cent of land that can be reclaimed has already been reported. If reclamation and cultivation of Mongol lands is carried through to the limit, how are Mongols to derive their livelihood?" The Suiyuan government, the *Summary* suggests, would eventually need to establish a boundary between reclaimed and pasture areas to allow Mongols their livelihood. Otherwise Mongol disaffection would grow and lead to political instability and attraction to "The Red Party" (*chi dang*, that is the Communists).[97] The text recommended that pastoralism should be recognised as part of the Suiyuan developmental equation by reserving land for pastoral use within new land reclamation areas, and that Mongol banners be paid the agreed proportion of the outstanding land prices that were still owed to them. Besides measures to ameliorate Mongol dissatisfaction, the *Summary* also called for the concentration of financial resources to rescue the Houtao from the ravages it had been dealt during the last half of the 1920s.[98]

[95] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao*, p. 7.

[96] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao*, p. 7

[97] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao*, p. 7.

[98] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jiyao*, pp. 5-8.

On the basis of data gathered in land reclamation and agricultural surveys conducted through the 1920s, figures for Suiyuan's total area, its total area of arable land, and total population could be determined and planners in the 1930s could make predictions about the possibilities for Suiyuan and its absorption capacity as a destination for land hungry migrants. The geographer Y.T. Chang, after examining the statistical data available in 1931, concluded that on the basis of a total figure of 153,960,000 *mu* of "ready acreage" (that is Suiyuan's total cultivable land) and allowing for improvements in farming practices and the development of pastoralism, Suiyuan could ultimately support 15 million people.[99] By 1935 more data had been accumulated. The *Analysis of the Mongol People's Economy in Chahar and Suiyuan* repeats many of the figures appearing in earlier works but also includes for the first time a detailed table of the estimated total areas and cultivable areas of the Mongol banners in Suiyuan provided by the Suiyuan government. This increasingly detailed rendering of Mongol territorial space in Suiyuan via the elaboration of statistical data was a by-product of the land reclamation process, but acquired a new impetus with the rise in the early 1930s of an increasingly assertive Mongol autonomy movement led by the Inner Mongolian prince Demchugdongrob. According to the *Analysis*, Suiyuan had a total area of over 140 million square *li*, 40 per cent of which was plains and able to be cultivated, 35 per cent was mountainous, and 25 per cent was desert. This 40 per cent of total area amounted to over three million *qing* of which roughly two-thirds was, or could be, reclaimed and one-third should be put aside for Mongols. On the basis of these figures the compilers estimated Suiyuan's cultivable land could support a population of "at least" 70 or 80 million settlers.[100]

Land reclamation activities continued amidst such projections. The *Overview of Suiyuan* reported in 1933 that reclamation affairs now concentrated upon two tasks: the "tidying" (*qingli*) of older areas of land reclamation (particularly amortising and pressing for the payment of outstanding debts, which amounted to over one million *yuan*), and

[99] Yin-T'ang Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia (Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningsia)* (Shanghai 1933. Reprint: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1971), p. 196.

[100] He Yangling, *Cha Sui Mengmin jingji jiepou* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), pp. 103-106.

the development of *tunken*, military land colonisation.[101] The Suiyuan government's Land Reclamation Planning Committee, created in winter 1931, devised an overall plan for the future of land reclamation in Suiyuan divided conceptually between three tasks: civil reclamation (*min ken*), military reclamation (*bing ken*), and Mongol reclamation (*Meng ken*). The notion of civil reclamation was based upon attracting new immigrants to Suiyuan from other provinces. To this end Fu Zuoyi presented a proposal to the fourth National Congress of the GMD in late 1931, which called for the encouragement of migration to Suiyuan.[102] The Tumed plain and the Houtao area were identified as two of the seven areas of the Northwest which particularly lent themselves to settlement of peasants from overcrowded provinces in China Proper.[103] In spite of such plans no sustained large-scale program for migration to Suiyuan developed, although the Suiyuan government remained involved in a modest way in planned migration schemes. In April 1935 around 200 peasants from Shandong assembled in Beiping for transporting to the Houtao region to take up reclaimed lands. They were said to make up the first group of a "Northwest colonisation program."[104] At around the same time 92 "refugees from the Northeast" arrived in Baotou for settlement in the Houtao.[105] As late as April 1937 the *Suiyuan Daily* reported the Suiyuan government's involvement in the arrival of over 200 peasants from Hebei to take up land in the Wuyuan-Linhe area.[106]

The category of "Mongol reclamation" aimed at encouraging Mongols to become agriculturalists, but remained a low priority.[107] Military land reclamation became the most important new element in land reclamation in the 1930s.

[101] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* (Guisui, 1933), Part 4, Chapter 1, p.14.

[102] *STZG* manuscript, 20th juan, 23rd page.

[103] Tang Leang-li (ed.), *Reconstruction in China, A Record of Progress and Achievement in Facts and Figures* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1935), pp. 323-324. The other areas identified were the Weihe Plain in Central Shaanxi, the Ningxia Plain between the Alashan Mountains and the Yellow River, the West Gansu Plain, and two areas in Xinjiang.

[104] *Suiyuan ribao* (Hereafter abbreviated as *SRB*), 24 April 1935. Note: all references to *SRB* in this chapter are taken from page 3 of the relevant edition.

[105] *SRB*, 5 April 1935.

[106] *SRB*, 26 April 1937.

[107] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.) *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 2, p. 13.

Yan Xishan and Military Land Colonisation

Military land reclamation or colonisation (*tuntian*)—the garrisoning of frontier areas with soldier-farmers—had a venerable history as a technique of Chinese frontier control and was not a particularly new idea in the Suiyuan context. It had been proposed in the late Qing and Zhu Shuxin, the first head of the General Bureau, had advocated the idea in 1917. Such a scheme, he argued, would be suited to the conditions of endemic banditry in the SSAR which had caused immense disruption and the abandonment of land by migrants. Soldiers would be able to defend themselves in such an environment, create basic infrastructure, and provide security for peasants. They could also secure the frontier region in the face of foreign threats.[108] Warlordism, however, made such a proposal difficult to realise and, although superintended by a military governor, land reclamation in Suiyuan remained a civil affair.

In the period from the start of the Republic up to 1929 the number of men under arms in China grew inordinately. One estimate is of a growth from a total of around 400,000 men at the end of the Qing to two million soldiers in provincial warlord armies and the central army in 1929. The National Reorganisation and Demobilisation Conference held in Nanjing in 1929, which aimed to reduce the total number of soldiers to 800,000, was a failure and marked the start of a new phase of civil wars.[109] The total figure continued to grow through the 1930s. One historian has noted the importance of this militarisation and its "corrosive effects not just on the [GMD] and on polities generally but also on culture, taxation, industry, communications and mentalities" in the Republic.[110] Such a background forms the context behind the military land reclamation efforts in Suiyuan during the 1930s. From the 1920s Suiyuan had been occupied and overrun by different warlord armies, ranging from the disciplined to the rapacious. Militarisation, then, was a feature of life that Suiyuaners shared with many other Chinese. The inclusion of soldiers in reclamation projects in Suiyuan was a consequence of this militarisation.

[108] See Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-163.

[109] Lloyd Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Nanking Decade, 1927-1937," in Lloyd E. Eastman et.al., *The Nationalist Era in China 1927-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 10.

[110] Hans van de Ven, "The Military in the Republic," in Frederic Wakeman jr., and Richard Louis Edmonds (eds), *Reappraising Republican China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 119.

Shanxi's power over Suiyuan was particularly evident in the development of military land colonisation in the 1930s. Following the reorganisation of Yan Xishan's forces in early 1931, Suiyuan became garrisoned by two former divisions of the Shanxi army, renamed as the 72nd and 73rd divisions. Various experiments in using some of these soldiers to reclaim land in Wuyuan County began in 1931. Then in Spring 1932 Fu Zuoyi, together with various military heads, set up a larger group of soldiers on 300 *qing* of land in Linhe County. Suiyuan's largest military land reclamation project began in August of this year with the establishment of the Suiyuan Region Military Reclamation Supervisory Office (*Sui qu tunken duban banshichu*).[111]

This project is probably the most open example of Yan Xishan flexing his muscle in Suiyuan. In February 1932 he became head of the powerful Taiyuan Pacification Office. From this time on, as has been noted in Chapter Two, Yan wielded strong power, both formal and informal, over Suiyuan and its officials. Yan established the Suiyuan Region Military Reclamation Supervisory Office in Baotou (later renamed the Directorate-General of Military Reclamation Affairs for Western Suiyuan) and assumed the directorship of this office. Via the deputy head of the new office, Wang Jingguo, also commander of the 70th division, Yan supervised the building of new soldier settlements through Wuyuan and Linhe counties, channel and well digging, detailed surveying and mapping of the Houtao region, the promotion of modern agricultural techniques, and a school which taught modern agricultural practices.[112] The project was divided between three corps: an Officers' Corps of 500 discharged officers, an Experimental Corps made up of three companies drafted from the 70th, 72nd and 73rd divisions, and a Reclamation Corps.[113] Yan emphasised Northwest development in his justification for moving into Suiyuan to set up this scheme. The precedent of "Shanxi and Suiyuan as one family" (*Jin Sui yijia*) was already well-established. Another stated aim was "turning soldiers into peasants" (*hua bing wei nong*). According to Yan's plans, soldiers who worked the land in Linhe and Wuyuan as part of the project should be off military pay and supporting themselves within three years, although by 1935 this target was seen as difficult to

[111] *STZG* manuscript, 23rd juan, 31st page.

[112] See Sui qu tunken duban banshichu (ed.), *Sui qu tunken di er nian gongzuo baogaoshu* (Taiyuan: Xibei yinshuachang, 1934), passim.

[113] Tang Leang-Li (ed.), *Reconstruction in China*, p. 327.

achieve.[114] By the following year self-sufficiency was said to be "one or two years away."[115] According to figures from 1935, military colonisation schemes in the Houtao area encompassed around one million *mu* of land although only a small proportion of this land was actually worked. Much of the land that was tilled was not farmed by soldiers directly, but was instead leased to immigrants from Shandong province, with the military providing credit and loans of seeds.[116]

Land Reclamation and the Making of Suiyuan

Surveying the many facets of the land reclamation process and associated activities in the period from 1915 to 1937, the main theme which becomes apparent is how land reclamation moulded and remade the territory of Suiyuan. There were three principal aspects to this. First, as has been outlined in the previous chapter, the process of land reclamation was directly responsible for the increase in the spread and number of counties making up the SSAR. By 1937 Suiyuan had 16 counties and two preparatory counties. In the period of the most intense activity in land reclamation, between 1919 and 1929, Suiyuan gained five new counties or preparatory counties. All new administrations grew out of land reclamation activities.[117]

Second, land reclamation demanded territorial clarity. To complete their work, land reclaimers required the clarification and greater formalisation of internal boundaries of different Mongol jurisdictions within Suiyuan. An accurate survey of the boundaries of any section of land that was reported was an important part of the reclamation process. At times, one banner's reporting of a parcel of land could lead to conflict with other banners over which banner had the right to report the land. Such disputes were then mediated by land reclamation officials. In 1925 at a conference for banner princes convened by the Suiyuan military governor, Li Mingzhong, the first item on the agenda was a request that all banner princes submit accurate maps of the boundaries of their jurisdictions to avoid "conflicts over land reported

[114] Sui qu tunken duban banshichu (ed.), *Sui qu tunken di si nian gongzuo baogaoshu* (Taiyuan: Xibei shiye gongsi yinshuachang, 1926), pp. 360-361

[115] *SRB*, 22 March 1936.

[116] Tang Leang-Li (ed.), *Reconstruction in China*, pp. 327-328.

[117] Not including the five counties that Suiyuan gained from Chahar in 1929 upon elevation to provincial status.

for reclamation."[118] Reclamation also required a clarification of Suiyuan's provincial boundaries. The soft, interlocking and overlapping boundaries of the Qing legacy were problematic in the Republic. The SSAR came into conflict with Shaanxi province over the General Bureau's attempts to reclaim land in Jasagh, Wang, Juungar and Uushin banners in southeastern Yeke-juu league. All these banners were contiguous with Shaanxi province and peasants from adjacent counties in Shaanxi had worked land leased from these banners over a long period of time. In 1921 protests from these peasants supported by Shaanxi officials forced the halting of the Bureau's work in the area.[119] The General Bureau faced a similar situation in southwestern Yeke-juu league in Otog Banner which was contiguous with Ningxia (then part of Gansu province). In order not to precipitate a boundary dispute the Bureau consulted with Ningxia authorities before surveying the area.[120]

Finally, land reclamation aimed at the homogenisation of land and territory. The *Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer of Suiyuan* reports that in April 1918 the Mongol eight bannerman Anxu arrived in Guisui to report for reclamation the ancestral allotment of land, a parcel of 200 *qing* in the area that his family had kept a claim to after they moved to the imperial capital in the late 18th century.[121] Land reclamation most obviously centred on the conversion of Mongol pasture land into Han agricultural land. Nevertheless, upon close examination, it was also focused on dismantling a large, complex, overgrown, and historically encrusted system of heterogeneous parcels of land and replacing it with a newer, simplified, and modernised version of homogenised land. As land reclaimers processed each parcel of land, *qing* by *qing* and *mu* by *mu*, Suiyuan as a new homogeneous territory was to come ever more sharply into focus. Through the process of land reclamation banner lands, lands of Mongol temple and monasteries, Household land, and land held by Mongol nobles and figures such as Anxu became undifferentiated parts of Suiyuan's new territory.

How successful was land reclamation at producing Suiyuan's territory? The last word on reclamation and its significance in expressing Suiyuan territoriality comes from the *Comprehensive Draft*

[118] "1925 nian Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," *Nei Menggu dang'an shiliao*, 1993, no. 1, p. 43.

[119] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 23rd-24th pages

[120] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 23rd-24th pages

[121] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 10th page. Anxu was the descendent of Danjin, a famous Guihua Town Commander-in-Chief in the 18th century.

Gazetteer in its consideration of the category of "land" (*tudi*). Ultimately the end result of reclamation was the production of relatively homogenous agricultural land or "acreage" (*dimu*) which could fall into a simple fourfold classification: irrigated, dry, silted land, and wasteland. In Suiyuan's case however, this schema only made sense within the territory of its counties and preparatory counties. Thus, in total, Suiyuan's "acreage," that is agricultural lands registered to the counties and preparatory counties of Suiyuan province as classified under one or other of these four categories, combined to a total of 302,700 *qing* in 1936. Even in the *Gazetteer's* detailed county-by-county breakdown, however, land categories of the past were still important in explaining the present composition of acreage. For example, in Baotou County's four administrative districts "Mongol banner reclamation land," according to the *Gazetteer*, "occupies the greatest [area]."[122] Moreover any discussion of land in Suiyuan also had to contend with by far the largest proportion of the province's area, namely Mongol lands outside of county administration even though such lands did not fall comfortably into the agriculturally-based four fold classification of land.[123] The *Gazetteer* admits that "the land of the Mongol banners is unique in form and, unlike the land of counties and preparatory counties, it cannot be strictly divided between irrigated, dry, silted, or waste categories." Such territory was populated by "people that pursued herding and who still hadn't entered the agricultural age. They did not rely upon the cultivation of land for their livelihood and so [such territory] could not be discussed in the same manner as [the territory of] counties and preparatory counties."[124] Here the gazetteer provides rough guesses as to the extent of land "privately cultivated" within the banners and notes the wide variation between ownership forms within banners.

In the end, despite the major project of remaking Suiyuan's territory as "acreage" undertaken by land reclamation authorities, the challenge of Mongol lands stubbornly remained. As with political jurisdiction, Suiyuan was never able to encompass unproblematically the full extent of the land and territory claimed for it on the provincial map.

[122] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 2, 7th page.
[123] *STZG* manuscript, 21st juan, 1st page.
[124] *STZG* manuscript, 21st juan, 20th page.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND PASTORALISM

Officially-sponsored land reclamation, I have argued above, centred narrowly on altering pre-existing patterns of land use and/or transforming older regimes of ownership and usage rights. While this task was acknowledged time and again as the starting point for the development of Suiyuan, it gradually became clear that Suiyuan's authorities should also broaden their concerns to the wider question of development. Agricultural development was the logical corollary of land reclamation and became an important area of governmental activity and planning in its own right. Officials and elites in Suiyuan also had to consider and deal with the question of pastoralism. Land reclamation of course implied a turning from pastoralism to agriculture and so it seems that pastoralism and agriculture were inimical. Opinion on this varied. Nevertheless, in spite of the seeming implications of land reclamation, pastoralism still remained a part of the developmental agenda. Indeed pastoralism came to be accepted by many as one of the special characteristics of the Northwestern developmental path. The difference between agriculture and pastoralism could be expressed in different ways: in ethnic terms as a contest between Han agriculturalists and Mongol pastoralists, or in terms of qualities such as the backwardness and enervation of pastoralism as an economic mode in contrast to the modernity and energy of agriculture. In the context of Suiyuan, discourse surrounding these terms added depth, complexity, and increased substance to the project of constructing Suiyuan.

Agricultural Development in Suiyuan

One morning in early June 1925 a small party of officials assembled at Guisui railway station. The group comprised representatives of the General Bureau of Land Reclamation and the SSAR government's Department of Industry, the head of the local government-sponsored tree seedlings' nursery, someone from the SSAR's agricultural and forestry experimental farm, and a member of the local agricultural association (*nonghui*). Armed with a gramophone, a camera, banners and charts and other equipment they boarded a morning train for the short trip to the rail station nearest to Baita, a town 25 *li* to the east of Guisui and the largest centre in the eastern section of Guisui County (See Map 8). Baita was the administrative centre for a district of

around 45,000 people. Here they transferred to a waiting cart and continued their journey through the countryside and villages of eastern Guisui County reaching Baita in the late morning. Following welcoming formalities, Baita's officials assembled townspeople in front of the town's open-air opera stage and, to the accompaniment of music from their gramophone, the visitors unfurled charts and posters and a banner bearing the legend "Suiyuan Department of Industry/Land Reclamation Office Agricultural Exhortation Team" (*Suiyuan shiye ting/kenwu zongju quannongtuan*). Team members then delivered a series of speeches on the benefits of channels and wells, and the importance of tree-planting for agriculture which, according to a later report, "deeply affected all in the audience of around 350 people."[125]

Exhortation, however, was not the only purpose of the team on that day. After lunch they collected survey data and interviewed local village heads and older peasants on the conditions of the area. Information on population distribution and conditions in villages, soil quality, irrigation, land prices and rents, land ownership and tenancy, living standards, rates of pay for hired labour, taxes and imposts, and crop acreage and yields would all later be collated and summarised and eventually appear in a survey published in the *Northwestern Monthly*, the journal of the Chinese Northwest Assistance Society.[126]

Although untypical of government action up to that time, the Baita visit was a product of a changing emphasis on the part of Suiyuan officialdom. Aside from the aggressive pursuit of land reclamation, various power-holders in Suiyuan during the first decade of the Republic showed little interest in the broader questions of the configuration of Suiyuan's economic development or in the question of agriculture in Suiyuan as a problem separate from land reclamation. Several changes occurred in the early and mid-1920s. We have noted in the last chapter the general "thickening" of administration that took place in Suiyuan during this period. In 1922 under Ma Fuxiang the Region gained a provincial-level agricultural experimental farm and by this time also, at least one county, Helin'ge'er, had its own experimental farm for forestry and agriculture.[127] The first sustained

[125] "Suiyuan kenwu zongju/shiye ting quannongtuan fu Guisui Baita zhen quannong baogao," *Xibei yuekan*, no. 13 (January 1926), p. 33.

[126] "Suiyuan kenwu zongju/shiye ting quannongtuan fu Guisui Baita zhen quannong baogao," pp. 33-36.

[127] See the memoir of Tu Yiyuan, who was the county executive of Helin'ge'er County at the time. Tu credits himself with the establishment of this farm. Tu Yiyuan, "Suiyuan zhengtan jianwen suoji," in *Wo de jingli jianwen*, *NMWSZL* no. 31, pp. 18-19. On the date of the establishment of the Suiyuan experimental farm see "Suiyuan shiyeting nong-lin shiyanchang zhi gaikuang," *Xibei huikan*, vol. 2, no. 2, January 1926, p. 7.

consideration and planning of Suiyuan as an agricultural space came during the period when Feng Yuxiang and his appointee to the Suiyuan military governorship, Li Mingzhong, held sway in the area, from early 1925 to mid-1926. Feng positioned one of his advisers, the agriculture and forestry expert Han An—who had studied and done research in agricultural science and forestry at different universities in the U.S.A. and had held positions in the Beijing government's Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce during the first decade of the Republic—as head of the SSAR's Department of Industry.[128] Han quickly set to work and issued a general plan and budget for the development of enterprise in the Region which identified agriculture, forestry, and pastoralism as the three major developmental tasks for Suiyuan. Agriculture was the most important of these:

> According to statistical reports, peasants account for 85 per cent of the total Chinese population. The great majority of the population of Suiyuan region, apart from the workers and traders in Baotou and Guisui, are peasants; therefore any plan to bring well-being to the people which does not address peasants is not feasible.[129]

Han proposed various measures including trialing new varieties of seeds, improving agricultural implements, the increased use of fertilizers, and research into the further processing of Suiyuan's agricultural produce as well as the establishment of a program for the operation of "agricultural exhorters" (*quannongyuan*) or educators in the field like the team described above that visited Baita. However, the most concrete part of the plan detailed the expansion of the pre-existing Suiyuan Department of Industry experimental farm.[130] By the end of 1925 this had grown from the tiny 25 *mu* original farm plus the tree seedlings nursery of 50 *mu* to an "experimental farm for agriculture and forestry" located at five different sites around Guisui and Baotou totaling 3,000 *mu*. Part of the expanded farm's structure absorbed the meteorological monitoring station that had been established earlier by the Beijing government's Ministry of Commerce

[128] For more biographical details see *Minguo renwu da cidian*, p. 1544.

[129] "Suiyuan shiye jihua dagang ji yusuan," *Suiyuan yuekan*, no. 3 (1925), *shiye* section p. 1.

[130] "Suiyuan shiye jihua dagang ji yusuan," pp. 1-10.

and Agriculture.[131] The experimental farm was a favoured tool of agricultural modernisers in China at this time, and in the Suiyuan context it continued to develop in a modest fashion in the late 1920s and into the 1930s as an institution to spread new agricultural technology.[132] Besides the data collected at Baita, Han's department also collected survey data in several locations west of Guisui and in the Houtao region. Some of this was published under Han's name in the *Chinese Economic Monthly* of October 1926.[133]

The Realities of Agriculture in Suiyuan

The picture of agriculture and peasant life in Suiyuan which emerged from such inquiries was sobering. The agricultural expert Guo Tanxian from Beijing University, whom Han An invited to visit the area in 1925, highlighted the inequality in the distribution of land in his appraisal of Suiyuan's agricultural development. Guo was passing judgment, it seemed, on the system of land reclamation as a means of agricultural development. The Chinese land colonisation enterprise and its results in Suiyuan benefited land trading companies and large land holders, but not peasants. Based on examination of survey material collected by the Suiyuan government in the mid-1920s Y.T. Chang, writing in 1931, found that such land ownership patterns also affected the general manner of agriculture practiced in Suiyuan:

> In general the land is cultivated under very extensive conditions. One man with two draft animals can easily take care of fifty to one hundred mow [*mu*] of land. Very little fertilizer is used. Rotation is unknown. The method of cultivation is very crude... Seed once sown is left to grow without weeding or hoeing until the harvest... The characteristics of diligence and patience of the "farmers of forty centuries" [a common stereotype of Chinese peasants] seems to disappear among the colonists.

[131] "Suiyuan shiyeting nong-lin shiyanchang zhi gaikuang," pp. 6-7

[132] See for example Tang Qiyu, "Xibei nongken jihua si yi," *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1, no. 8 (1925), pp. 16-17, which advocates spreading experimental farms throughout the Northwest (with each farm to be equipped with its own meteorological equipment), as one of the main methods to improve agriculture in the Northwest. The Feng Yuxiang-sponsored "General Plan for Northwest Land Colonisation" of 1925 also calls for the establishment of experimental farms (Han An must surely have been involved in the preparation of this elaborate plan). See *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 21-22. See also various progress reports in *Suiyuan jianshe jikan*, 1931-1935.

[133] Quoted extensively in Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, pp. 184-190.

> The prevailing system of landownership is not conducive to the tenant farmers developing the land, as they have not the same interest in the soil as have most of their cousins—small holders for the most part—in China Proper.[134]

Chang also commented on the relatively low level of permanent settlement of such areas as the Houtao. Most of the landlords were absentee and "ha[d] rarely seen the land at all," and many of the agricultural labourers were transient and worked in Suiyuan for only part of the year:

> Since there is a two weeks' difference in the climate of the season between the two areas, owing to the early warmth in Shanxi, Gansu and Hebei, the natives, after sowing the seeds at home, move northward into Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ninghsia in late spring to work on the fields of the newly opened lands. So, too, owing to the early frost in the north, after having harvested there, they return in late autumn and are still in good time to reap the crops at home. Therefore in winter only a few hired farm hands are left to look after the farmsteads.[135]

Such transience limited any interest that tillers had in improvement of the land and also accounted for the large proportion of claimed land that was left uncultivated.[136] A Suiyuan government account of agriculture from 1933 highlighted much the same phenomenon. "Arrive in Spring, return in Autumn" (*chun lai qiu fan*) peasants, who moved back and fourth between homes in Shanxi province to Suiyuan to cultivate land, it claimed, not only accounted for the large fluctuations in the population of Suiyuan from year to year but also the large fluctuations in annual figures for tilled acreage: "the majority [of these peasants] don't bring their families and if they strike a tough year or if there is unrest they abandon the fields they have tilled [in Suiyuan] and allow them to return to wilderness."[137]

Those writing on agricultural development in Suiyuan also highlighted the generally harsh natural conditions for agriculture—dryness and cold—as well as banditry as major problems affecting agricultural development.[138] Banditry, as we shall see in the

[134] Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, p. 178.

[135] Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, p. 178.

[136] Chang, *The Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia*, p. 191.

[137] Suiyuan zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, Section 3, Chapter 1, pp. 1-5.

[138] Guo Tanxian, "Suiyuan nongye wenti guan jian," *Xibei hui kan*, vol. 2, no. 7, February 1926, pp. 15-16. Around this time Guo became head of agricultural science at Jinling University in Nanjing. For a biography see *Minguo renwu dacidian*, pp. 1287-1288.

following chapter, was endemic, and often was cited as the cause for the abandonment of land.[139] The late 1920s was a particularly trying time for agricultural development in Suiyuan. The retreat of Feng Yuxiang's army westwards from Guisui from mid-1926 into 1927 left a trail of destruction through the area. This combined with successive years of drought contributed to a prolonged and horrific famine from 1927 to 1929 which led to the abandonment of large areas of agricultural land. Population movement and death from starvation reduced Suiyuan's population by as much as 25 per cent of the pre-1927 figure and, according to a Suiyuan government official in 1934, Suiyuan's tilled acreage, which had increased from roughly 60,000 *qing* in 1918 to almost 180,000 *qing* in 1926, had declined by 70,000 *qing* in 1930.[140]

Agricultural Development in the 1930s

The new Suiyuan provincial government continued to expand its involvement in both grand and modest ways in agricultural development and infrastructure during the Nanjing decade. The famine of the late 1920s served as an important catalyst for increased concern—both governmental and non-governmental—with creating a form of agriculture particularly suited to Suiyuan's natural conditions.

In late 1928, in an atmosphere of great urgency, Suiyuan authorities unveiled plans for a large-scale irrigation project to draw water from the Yellow River at a point just below Baotou and move it eastwards along a 60 kilometre stretch of canal to be known as the Salaqi-Tuoketuo People's Livelihood Channel (*Sa Tuo minsheng qu*) to join a tributary of the Yellow River. Fourteen smaller lateral channels spaced at rough five kilometre intervals would then take water from this main canal southwards to the Yellow River and irrigate a large area of southern Salaqi County. The idea for the canal was a Salaqi gentry-sponsored initiative and had been first proposed as early as 1915.[141] Suiyuan authorities used the project to employ famine victims and work slowed due to frozen earth (digging began in October 1928) and the physical weakness of the diggers. Finance for

[139] See for example the Agricultural report from 1919 Zhang Yanan, *Diaocha Suiyuan tebie quyu nongye xumu baogao* (No publication details, 1919), pp. 5-6.

[140] *SRB*, 12 August 1932.

[141] *STZG* manuscript, 24th juan, part 2, 1st page. This project was sometimes referred to in English-language sources as the Saratsi Irrigation Project. See for example Tang Leang-Li (ed.), *Reconstruction in China*, p. 324.

the project was only finally arranged the following year with the Suiyuan provincial government and the China International Famine Relief Commission (*Hua yang yizhen qiuzai zonghui*) jointly providing the funds.[142] Work continued on through 1930 and 1931 with 4,000 of the troops based in Suiyuan (the 70th division and 73rd division of what was termed the Shanxi-Suiyuan army) brought in to assist in the digging.[143] Work was still proceeding on the canal in mid-1934 and an Italian irrigation expert visiting the area at the end of that year reported the canal had many problems.[144] The scheme was poorly planned and executed and prone to silting and blockages.

Also in the midst of famine, in April 1929 the Suiyuan provincial Department of Construction (*jianshe ting*, as the former SSAR Department of Industry was now known) opened the Salaqi County New Agriculture Experimental Farm to act as a laboratory for "large scale agriculture" in Suiyuan. This farm was to use modern agricultural machinery for cultivation. Two tractors and other agricultural machinery were purchased in Shanghai from the American McCormack-Deering Company and an area of over 300 *qing* was purchased for the farm. As another example of the involvement of Shanxi authority in Suiyuan affairs, Yan Xishan provided the funds for the farm's creation. A lecturer from the Agricultural Science and Forestry Department at Nanjing's Jinling University oversaw the establishment of the farm.[145]

More modest were such things as the provincial agricultural produce contest initiated in 1930 and held in Guisui in October each year. The head of the provincial Department of Construction, Feng Xi, informed those attending the opening ceremony of the fourth annual contest in 1933 that the purpose of the competition was

[142] *STZG* manuscript, 24th juan, part 2 contains a summary of the contractual arrangements for the funding of this project. At the same time The China International Famine Relief Commission entered into a similar arrangement with the Shaanxi provincial government to assist in the digging of the Jinghui canal in the central region of this province, which also suffered a famine from 1928-1931. See Eduard B. Vermeer, *Economic Development in Provincial China: The Central Shaanxi since 1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 28-46.

[143] Suiyuan zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, Section 5, Chapter 3, pp. 21-22.

[144] See *Hanpu*, nos. 15 and 16, January (1935), p. 31.

[145] Suiyuan zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* Section 3, Chapter 5, p. 63. See also Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan, 1987), pp. 99-100, which provides a description of the farm's annual periodical *Xibei nongken gongzuo ji*.

> to promote the use of drought-tolerant seed. Because Suiyuan is a district of long droughts... and after the drought-induced famine of 1928 and 1929 [which reduced Suiyuan to] bare wilderness for thousands of *li*, agriculture became lax. If we examine the reasons for this, it is nothing so much as that people did not know how to switch to drought-tolerant seed... and so our province has bought drought-tolerant wheat, oats, and sorghum from America.[146]

Finally to be noted is the growth in elite interest and action to do with agricultural development in Suiyuan. Agricultural science majors from Beiping University accounted for five of the 30 Suiyuan students who graduated from Beiping universities in 1934, second only to law (six graduates) in popularity.[147] In November 1930, students from Suiyuan then studying agricultural science at Beiping University organised the Suiyuan Agricultural Study Society. In 1932 the society began publishing a periodical which at the end of 1933 became the fortnightly magazine *Winter Garden* (*Hanpu*). As the name suggests, the magazine took as its subject the particular conditions existing in Suiyuan for agricultural production:

> Originally Suiyuan was the Chinese Northwest's protecting barrier and fertile soil (*pingfan worang*). It occupied an important place in border defense and in agricultural production.... As far as agriculture is concerned, the province's climate is cold. During the year there are two months where the temperature falls below zero degrees Celsius and five months where it is below ten degrees Celsius... Rainfall is scarce... and agricultural methods are extremely antiquated. The great toll of natural and human disaster occurring over recent years has completely bankrupted the backward village economy. [On top of this], since the loss of the Northeast, the western borders have become increasingly insecure...It is really the case that the [proper] management of the garden in this wintry region is of great importance and yet so difficult to achieve.[148]

And so the magazine sought to "communicate and improve our province's agriculture, its administration, and its science."[149] *Winter Garden* received funds from the Suiyuan provincial government and

[146] *Hanpu*, no. 2, p. 3.

[147] See *Suiyuan you Ping xuehui xuekan*, (hereafter abbreviated as *SYPXX*) vol. 6, no. 4 and 5, pp. 1-2 for the complete list. Suiyuan zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* Section 11, pp. 17-22 gives a complete list of 110 Suiyuan students studying in Beiping at university or tertiary level institutions in 1931. Nine of these were enrolled in the school of agriculture at Beiping University.

[148] "Guanyu ben kan," *Hanpu*, vol. 1, no. 1 (December 1933), p. 1.

[149] Quoted in Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.) *Jianguo qian nei Menggu difang baokan kao lu*, p. 41.

carried brief reports of agricultural developments in Suiyuan alongside longer articles on agricultural science of particular relevance for Suiyuan, opinion pieces on agricultural policy and developmental strategy for Suiyuan and the Chinese Northwest and occasional surveys on agricultural conditions in the area.[150]

By the 1930s the essential features of a Suiyuan-style agriculture were clear. Suiyuan was a Northwestern place and its agriculture, as a writer in the *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Association Journal* noted, shared all the unique features of agriculture in the Northwest:

> Rain is scarce. Not only is it extremely cold in winter, but spring and autumn also have snow and ice. Although many of the agricultural products are tolerant of cold,... they are also easily susceptible to disease and harm which leads to famine years. 1928 and 1929 were years of extended drought which led to famine and the baring of the earth for thousands of *li*. As regards bumper years, because of the limited rainfall and the fact that there can only be one harvest a year, annual harvest totals are small and can never be compared with the provinces of China Proper.[151]

In such conditions Suiyuan's officials and elites had to struggle constantly to make their province viable as an agricultural place.

Agriculture versus Pastoralism

The place of pastoralism or herding (*xumu*, *xumuye*, sometimes alternatively referred to as *youmu* or "nomadic pastoralism") in the developmental discourse of Republican Suiyuan was shaped by a well-entrenched set of attitudes which compared it disadvantageously with agriculture (*nongye*). Any consideration of the historical question of the change from one mode of production to the other inevitably involved the question of legitimacy and rightful possession or use of territory and contestation between indigene/native and settler—of Mongol against Han. Pastoralism from this perspective was an inferior and backward form of economic life.

Local gazetteer accounts of the late Qing and early Republic commonly stressed the impermanent nature of pastoralism in the historical territory of Suiyuan. Suiyuan was in the first place an

[150] *Hanpu*, nos 1- 21 (late 1933 to November 1935), passim.

[151] "Xibei nongcun pochan xia de nongmin jingji shikuang," *SYPXX*, vol. 6, no. 1, p. 40.

agricultural territory. In some accounts, the area returned or "fell" into Mongol hands (*ru Meng*) and became (unproductive) pasture during the Ming dynasty. However, irrigation, land reclamation and general agricultural development had precedents going back into the ancient past in the area. The editors of the *Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer* in their discussion of irrigation in the Hetao region described the area as

> abandoned [at some stage during the Ming dynasty] and from this time to the beginning of the Qing only transients from Shaanxi and Shanxi would come in the Spring [to till land] and return in the Autumn... Their marks were extremely faint and, within our provincial boundaries for thousands of *li*, the area again sunk into nomadic pastoralism.[152]

Pastoralism, then, was associated with wasteful and unproductive use of the land. History, however, was on the side of the peasant. Agriculture was assumed to be a more productive use of land and therefore, from the perspective of many involved in building Suiyuan at the time, it was the natural and rightful mode of economic exploitation of the area. The pastoralism of the Ming and Qing periods was an interruption of this historically prior and proper use of land.

In the minds of some, the tension between effective (that is agricultural) use and non-use (by implication pastoralism) of the area was an historical drama which was still to a degree being played out in the 1920s with the disorder of warlordism. The battle had yet to be won. A former official involved in Yigu's land colonisation bureaucracy described the situation in the Hetao in 1924 in these terms:

> [The Hetao] in history returned to its original primitive state [*huan cao wei*] in the Warring States period, but was opened in the Qin [*pi yu Qin*]. Flourishing in the Han, it declined in the Wei and Jin and recovered to flourish again during the Northern Wei up until after the Sui and Tang dynasties. Once again [however] the area declined during the Five Dynasties, and through the Liao, Jin and Yuan dynasties could not commence [to develop and continued to decline] during the Ming when the area again fell into enemy hands, up until the end of the Qing when the Suiyuan General and Land Commissioner Yigu went to much painful effort to initiate the eight great channels [of the Houtao]. But then with changing events [he] was dismissed from office with things left unfinished, and the area was left to lie waste for several years from this time...[153]

[152] *STZG* manuscript, 24th juan, 2nd page.

[153] Zhou Jinxi (ed.), *Suiyuan Hetao zhi yao* (1924: No publication details), preface. The first half of this passage with some minor changes has been taken from Zhang Dingyi (ed.), *Sui cheng*, 2nd juan, p. 1.

Although in disagreement on details, the *Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer* applied a similar understanding of history to the whole of Suiyuan's territory:

> From the Qin and Han dynasties to the Yuan dynasty, although this territory sometimes did not belong to the central dynasty (that is dynasties based in China Proper), the people still worked their fields as of old. During this time it was only after the eastern Han dynasty's *Jianan* reign period [i.e. after 219 CE] and before the eastern Jin dynasty's *Taikang* reign period [i.e. before 280 CE], a period of more than 90 years, in which the whole province's land fell into waste. Then from the mid period of the Ming the area completely entered Mongol control and Han from China Proper could not enter the region.[154]

Indeed this text saw agriculture as nothing less than central to "the pattern of our province's connection with China."[155] As Suiyuan's territory moved in and out of Chinese imperial control through history, agriculture was a measure of the area's integration within or separation from the central dynasties. Agricultural land use in this sense was an essential identifier of Suiyuan as Chinese national territory.

Other writers represented the relationship between agriculture and pastoralism as an evolutionary movement:

> Taking the example of the Mongol banners of the Northwest, under the former Qing system Mongols were not allowed to reclaim land privately. In reality, however, 200 years ago poor people from inside the Passes, forced by the pressure of making a livelihood, began from time to time to sneak into the Mongol wilds to find land to sustain existence. Later those Mongols living close to the border [with China] gained a little knowledge of sowing seed for subsistence. They had already gradually moved from the pastoral epoch into the age of agriculture.[156]

Once again history was on the side of the agriculturalist. Not only was the old pastoral economy badly "broken down," but this was really a manifestation of a natural historical progression from an earlier and more primitive form of economic activity towards a higher, more sophisticated form, namely agriculture.

Pastoralism as a Unique Feature of Suiyuan's Development

Elites and power holders in Suiyuan in the early Republic and during the Nanjing years had a clear sense of the continuation of the pastoral

[154] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 1st page.

[155] *STZG* manuscript, 22nd juan, part 1, 1st page.

[156] "Xibei bianzheng yijian shu," *Xibei ban yuekan*, no. 2 (1924), p. 9.

economy throughout large areas of the province and its continuing role in the Suiyuan economy. The income derived from taxes on pastoral products such as wool and hides which passed through Baotou and Guisui was immense.[157] Pastoralism in some way also had to be recognised as part of the Suiyuan space.

Occasionally in the 1920s and more frequently in the early 1930s, pastoralism was represented as one of the important "frontier" attributes of Suiyuan. Han An's 1925 plan for development in Suiyuan discussed above, while giving priority to agriculture, also recognised the importance of pastoralism to the Suiyuan economy:

> Suiyuan was originally Inner Mongolian nomadic pastoral lands. Cattle, sheep, horse and camel [raising] was the only enterprise of Mongols. Since Han people moved into pasture lands and colonised them, agriculture gradually developed. Today, south of the Yin Mountains peasants have gradually made cultivation of crops the mainstay and pastoralism has become a sideline. North of these mountains it is still mostly pastoralism which is the main industry. ...An average of six million *yuan* worth of yarn, wool, and animal hides and three million *yuan* in livestock comes into Baotou each year. A set component of this is from Outer Mongolia and the Western Route [that is Xinjiang]. Wool, hides, and livestock coming into Guisui... also occupy a major proportion of traded items. The importance of this industry can be perceived. However, the pastoral industry in the Suiyuan region recently has gone into a gradual decline.

Han recommended improvement of stock, the encouragement of increased breeding of stock and the prevention and eradication of animal diseases as measures to arrest the decline in the industry, as well as setting aside funds for the establishment of an experimental pastoral farm and veterinary hospital.[158] When Guo Tanxian visited the area in summer 1925, Han enlisted him to visit the proposed site for his experimental pastoral farm at Nao'erliang in Wuchuan County.

Governmental recognition of pastoralism as a developmental priority for Suiyuan continued after the brief tenure of Han An and into the 1930s. What became the "Suiyuan Department of Construction Wuchuan County Nao'erliang Sheep Farm" came into existence in May 1927.[159] An issue of *Winter Garden* published at the end of 1933 enumerated the Suiyuan government's activities in

[157] See the quote from Han An below for some 1925 figures.

[158] "Suiyuan shiye jihua da gang ji yusuan," *Suiyuan yuekan* no. 3 (1925), pp. 7-8.

[159] See the information table on this farm in Suiyuan zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, Section 6, Chapter 4, p. 70.

encouraging the development of pastoralism to date: Suiyuan's counties were required to compile statistics on the present state of pastoral activities under their jurisdiction, and the Suiyuan government had established an annual horse breeding competition, organised a cattle breed improvement society, and dedicated twenty per cent of revenue from fines for acreage planted with opium poppy to the fostering of pastoralist expertise. Furthermore, the provincial Department of Construction had bought 100 pairs of Merino sheep to improve local sheep breeds and the minister for internal affairs in the Nanjing government, Huang Shaoxiong, had visited Suiyuan entrusted with the task of establishing a school for pastoralism and research facilities in the province.[160]

As much as they aimed their magazine at developing and fostering a special form of agriculture suited to the "Northwest" characteristics of Suiyuan, the editors of *Winter Garden* also championed pastoralism and pastoral development as an important component in their province's future. Writers in *Winter Garden* drew strength from the ongoing national interest and ferment about the Northwest as well as the calls for development of the Northwest. The case for the development of Northwestern pastoralism was being argued at the highest level. In an influential examination of the Northwest edited by the GMD ideologue Dai Jitao which came out in 1933, one writer complained that "just about all great works are biased towards land colonisation [*ken zhi*] and have forgotten pastoral reclamation [*ken mu*]. All attention is focused upon cultivation [*gengzhong*] and pastoralism [*xumu*] is ignored."[161] The issue of *Winter Garden* published at the end of 1933 discussed above was specially dedicated to pastoralism in Suiyuan and contained several long articles which explored the different aspects of the question. One writer even argued that the development of pastoralism rather than agriculture was the true priority in Suiyuan:

> The natural resources of the Northwest do not stop at just one type. However in terms of a relatively easy starting point, nothing exceeds the pastoral industry. Although Suiyuan is only one part of the Northwest, it is particularly suited to pastoralism. To improve and increase Suiyuan's

[160] "Fazhan Suiyuan xuchan zhi zhongxin wenti," *Hanpu*, nos 3 and 4 (January 1934), p. 3.

[161] Peng Wenhe, "Kaifa Xibei ying yi xumu shiye wei xianqu," in Dai Jitao (ed.), *Xibei* (Shanghai: New Asia, 1933), p. 107.

> prosperity, and to strengthen border defence, one should start with [the promotion of] pastoralism.[162]

The writer then lists Suiyuan's virtues as a pastoral space, and reminds the reader that the Hetao was termed a "great grazing pasture" (*da muchang*) in ancient times—a direct re-appropriation of the location from the clutches of those who chose to emphasise the ancient agricultural credentials of the area. The developmental path of Denmark is then cited. This prosperous and modern country successfully moved from an agricultural economy based upon cropping which could not compete on the international market to one based upon animal husbandry which could compete, and this led to its enrichment.[163] The examples of Denmark, but also Australia and Argentina, echoed through the writings of other advocates for pastoralism. Common conclusions were that these examples showed that pastoralism as a mode of production *could* be successfully modernised and it was not a relic rendered useless by the forces of History. To the evolutionary argument of pastoralism being characteristic of an earlier stage of human development could be counter-posed an environmental argument: Mongols were pastoralists because of their environment. Pastoralism as a mode of production was formed out of the natural environment of the Northwest and Suiyuan as a Northwest location was most appropriately "a natural pastoral area."[164] A modernised pastoralism could also be significant for the Chinese nation. In a context where the traditional Chinese agricultural economy had fallen victim to international capitalism, pastoralism and animal husbandry of the Northwest could play a crucial role in saving the nation.[165]

Suiyuan's embrace of pastoralism in the 1930s occurred against the backdrop of the sudden nation-wide interest in the Chinese Northwest. In such a context Northwestern differences came to be celebrated and affirmed as legitimate and non-antagonistic parts of the diversity of the Chinese nation. Pastoralism in Suiyuan gained in status when rehearsed in this new context. At the same time Suiyuan and the Republic in general faced the demands of an increasingly assertive

[162] "Lun Suiyuan ying zhenxing xumu," *Hanpu*, nos 3 and 4 (January 1934), p. 2.
[163] "Lun Suiyuan ying zhenxing xumu," *Hanpu*, nos 3 and 4 (January 1934), p. 2.
[164] For example see Li Shumao, "Fuxing Suiyuan sheng xu chan ye zhong zhi zhongyao wenti," *Suiyuan you Ping xuehui huikan*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 21-22.
[165] See for example "Gailiang Xibei xumu zhi guanjian," *Hanpu*, nos. 3 and 4 (January 1934), pp. 30-34 which emphasises the same issue.

Mongol autonomy movement. The territorial and jurisdictional implications of "high-level" Mongol autonomy propounded by such people as Prince Demchugdongrob directly threatened the power of Suiyuan's authorities and so had to be combated in some way (see Chapter Six for a more detailed examination). Suiyuan governmental advocacy of pastoralism in the 1930s could also be employed in an attempt to co-opt this resurgent Mongol agenda. The Suiyuan government's pastoralist equivalent to its annual agricultural produce competition, the horse breeding competition held each October from 1931 onwards, can be seen in this light. Among other things, authorities portrayed this event as an opportunity for *all* of Suiyuan's component territories—both counties and banners—to compete.[166] The public invitation for participants issued in 1932 in both Chinese and Mongolian "earnestly hoped for the participation of Mongol banners."[167] And each year the achievements of horses from the few banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues who did compete were enthusiastically praised. Celebrating Suiyuan's pastoral industry in such terms served politically to demonstrate the inclusiveness of Suiyuan as a territory which could accommodate its Mongol space unproblematically. At the same time, however, even seeming advocates of pastoralism could also be equivocal. The *Plan for Reclamation in Suiyuan* of 1932 argued that

> the only lasting way to improve the lives of Mongol compatriots is to improve pastoralism at the same time as leading [them] to reclaim and cultivate wasteland, so that they gradually move from a nomadic pastoral existence to an agricultural existence. If this is done successfully, not only will natural resources be developed but Mongol compatriots' living standards will also automatically rise.[168]

Ultimately, although admitting a degree of flexibility on the question of pastoralism and development, Suiyuan's developers emphasised just such an arrangement of the relationship between pastoralism and agriculture. Suiyuan was fundamentally a non-Mongol agricultural space built upon the language of land reclamation and the promise of Northwestern development.

[166] See for example *SRB*, 9 October 1936.
[167] See for example the report in *SRB*, 27 October 1932.
[168] Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.) *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, vol. 2, pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER FOUR

POVERTY, BACKWARDNESS AND EDUCATION

> "*bi chu bian chui wenhua luohou*" ['remote and on the border, culturally backward'] this hackneyed phrase is what everyone uses to open with when they bring up the subject of Suiyuan! Truly, our bones ache and our hearts are wounded whenever [this is heard]... Poor Suiyuan. Suiyuaners are condemned to such a fate, looking at their lives and land, one hundred illnesses afflict the body. Crisis and disaster assail from all four quarters....
> However, the reasons for Suiyuan's pitiable state, for Suiyuan's misfortune, for Suiyuan's calamities, for Suiyuan's fear and terror, for Suiyuan's endurance of hardship... and all the things that we (the people) cannot put into words about Suiyuan, run deep...[1]

An atmosphere of sober rectitude pervaded preparations for the chairman of Suiyuan provincial government Fu Zuoyi's tour of inspection in October 1932. This was the first comprehensive tour of Suiyuan's counties and preparatory counties planned by any Suiyuan governmental leader in the short history of the Region/Province. Heads of Suiyuan's counties and local administrations, however, were warned that ostentatious banqueting and welcoming ceremonies were forbidden and that not even lamps and decorations should be hung in welcome. The Chairman would travel with his own supplies and kitchen, and required only basic accommodation—which was not to be freshly renovated in any way. In counties traversed by the Beiping-Suiyuan rail line, Chairman Fu would maintain his headquarters in his rail carriage.[2] The chief aims of the tour were to "investigate the suffering of the people," and to straighten out county administration.[3] Despite earlier pronouncements, however, in the end

[1] *Suiyuan xuechao* (August 1933), p. 3.
[2] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan, zhunbei shixiang* section, p. 3.
[3] *Suiyuan Ribao* (Hereafter abbreviated as *SRB*), 28 October 1932. Note: all references to *SRB* in this chapter are taken from page 3 of the relevant edition.

Fu restricted his inspection to those counties accessible from the railway line.[4]

Fu traveled through a countryside that was traumatised and poverty-ridden. As the public report issued by the Suiyuan government after his tour expressed it: "since 1921 bandits and soldiers have flourished by turn in Suiyuan province; 1928 and 1929 were years of the Great Famine when the population was reduced by several hundred thousand people; and the vitality of the area, once broken, has never recovered."[5] In the many speeches he gave along the way to gatherings of town and village elders, to local administrators, to local gentry and traders, and to students, Suiyuan's chairman diagnosed financial chaos and banditry as the root causes of Suiyuan's afflictions and he pledged to concentrate his efforts on addressing these problems.[6] Such hardship and dire conditions of everyday life in Suiyuan, however, seemed to illustrate well what was widely recognised by Suiyuaners and outsiders alike as the central attribute of Suiyuan by the early 1930s—its profound backwardness. Suiyuan's problems were symptoms of this all-embracing condition. A Suiyuan student studying in Beijing in 1936 demonstrated the consequences of such a typification of his home province in these terms:

> In the mind of the average Suiyuaner there has always existed an impression of contempt for our Suiyuan. They think of everything connected with Suiyuan as immature, backward, and unworthy of attention. At the same time average non-Suiyuaners possess a similar impression of disdain [for the place]. When they hear the word "Suiyuan," they think of it as some filthy, rough, and clumsily-formed thing. This is especially the case with education in our Suiyuan; not only does it gain no praise, it is looked down upon. It is because they [i.e. non-Suiyuaners] have never paid the slightest interest to Suiyuan in the past that the lack of mutual understanding is so deep. Recently, for example, Mr Wu Zhihui put forward an opinion in grand terms in a minor newspaper saying: "Suiyuan's girls, for example, don't wear any pants..." Let the facts determine whether or not what Mr Wu says is correct. We Suiyuaners certainly know... However, this Mr Wu is not just an average person. He is a Party and State figure... If his understanding of Suiyuan is so full of contempt, what about the attitudes of ordinary non-Suiyuaners? It goes without saying. They all use clichés

[4] The counties visited were Jining, Xinghe, and Fengzhen in the east and Guisui, Salaqi, and Baotou in Suiyuan's west. See various reports in *SRB*, 28 October through to 19 November 1932.
[5] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan*, preface, p. 1.
[6] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan, xunhua* section, p. 1.

such as "culturally backward" and "the general environment has only recently opened to outside influences" [*wenhua huohou, fengqi wan kai*] to describe our Suiyuan and let our Suiyuan suffer on forever. At the same time these words have become a mantra for ordinary people whenever the subject of Suiyuan arises.[7]

This chapter explores the desperate conditions of life in Suiyuan, particularly during and following the famine of the late 1920s, which contrasted so paradoxically with the area's bright and prosperous future as predicted by Suiyuan's land reclaimers and agricultural developers. How was this explained, and how were Suiyuan's sufferings comprehended and "placed" within the politics of representation in Republican China? The second part of the chapter analyses what many contemporaries saw as the logical solution to Suiyuan's backwardness. This was the cultural and intellectual component of Suiyuan's construction—the local educational enterprise.

Poverty And Backwardness

Famine and Crisis

The general conditions of life for peasants in many areas of Suiyuan were marginal and tenuous at the best of times. The intensity, scale, and duration of suffering in the late 1920s, however, was unprecedented. Suiyuan experienced a prolonged famine from summer 1926 until 1930 and, in some areas, 1931. A table published in an account of the famine relief effort in Suiyuan in late 1929 found famine conditions through all of Suiyuan's then seventeen counties and preparatory counties.[8] Deaths from starvation and diseases, people

[7] Du Bingwen, "Suiyuan you Ping xuehui huanying di yi shifan Zhongshan xueyuan nüzi shifan lai Ping canguan huanying ci," *SYPXX*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1935), p. 9. Wu Zhihui (1866-1953) was a high ranking GMD official who held various positions in the Nanjing government at the time. For a short biography see Liu Shengping (ed.), *Zhongguo xiandai shi cidian* (Beijing: Zhongguo guoji guangbo chubanshe, 1987), p. 481.

[8] The table appears in Qiao Yunzhong, "Suiyuan quansheng shiba nianlen zaikuang ji zhenwu," *Xibei*, no. 9 (1929), pp. 2-3. No contemporary attention was given to the extent to which the famine affected more far-flung Mongol areas outside the southern core of Suiyuan's counties. Populations in these areas, although sparser, must also have been affected. An account written in the 1980s claims that the situation in Mongol banners was also extremely serious. See "Tumote lidai ziran zaihai," *Tumote qi shiliao*, no. 10, p. 102.

deserting villages and land to flee to Shanxi, the selling of women and children, and a decline in the fertility rate reduced Suiyuan's population by as much as one quarter during this period.[9] Overall conditions showed only marginal improvement in the period after the Famine and through the 1930s. "The present suffering endured by Suiyuan's masses is poverty," proclaimed Fu Zuoyi at the time of his 1932 inspection tour. "Poverty is a common phenomenon across Suiyuan society. The land is poor and the people are poor, society is poor, and the government is poor. All the suffering felt by the people is created by poverty."[10] Several major factors lay behind this.

Military Turmoil

At the start of 1926, Wu Peifu and Zhang Zuolin, then the two major warlord powers in northern China and Manchuria respectively, united to move their armies against the other major military power in northern China, Feng Yuxiang. The Shanxi warlord Yan Xishan, sensitive to the political consequences of this new alignment of power, cautiously joined the front against Feng in May. As a result, in August 1926 Feng was finally forced to move a large section of his Guominjun army from north of Beijing in retreat along the Beijing-Suiyuan railway line to the Houtao area. Feng's once well-disciplined troops fell into disarray on this retreat and Guominjun units "scattered over Suiyuan" harried by bandits and Shanxi troops.[11] Suiyuan became the location for the breakup of one of the major military forces in northern China. Some former Guominjun soldiers turned to banditry, while others transferred allegiance to Shang Zhen, whom Yan Xishan had installed in the Suiyuan military governorship in September 1926. By this stage the preponderance of Feng's forces controlled the area west of Baotou while Shang Zhen controlled the area around Guisui. In November 1926, yet more soldiers arrived when troops of Zhang Zuolin entered Suiyuan to attack the remaining units of the vanquished Guominjun and to occupy Guisui.[12]

From its inception in 1914, Suiyuan had supported resident and transiting armies and a large proportion of local revenues were

[9] See Gao Boyu's report in *SRB*, 12 August 1932.

[10] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan*, p. 2.

[11] James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yu-hsiang* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 204.

[12] Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord*, pp. 204-205.

typically expended on military causes.[13] The entry and partial dispersal of as many as 200,000 troops in Suiyuan in late 1926, however, stretched the resources of the local economy and peasantry as never before.[14] Army units requisitioned grain, sheep for food and winter clothing, and other animals for cartage and food, as well as carriages and engines on the Jing-Sui rail line, and levied exorbitant taxes on the local inhabitants. Towards the end of 1926 Feng re-established communications with many wayward units of his army in Suiyuan and regrouped them west of Baotou. The troops were then sent westwards into Gansu to join up with the main section of Feng's army.[15]

Financial Chaos

On the eve of his tour of the counties Fu Zuoyi, in a speech to accompanying officials, diagnosed financial chaos and endemic banditry as the two disorders at the root of Suiyuan's terrible afflictions.[16] Suiyuan's financial woes centred on the lack of confidence in various local promissory notes known as *Sui piao* (Suiyuan notes) or *jiu piao* (old notes) and *Jin piao* (Shanxi notes). Local traders and the local chamber of commerce had virtually been bankrupted by forced loans of cash to Feng Yuxiang in 1926. Again, in 1930, Yan Xishan issued large numbers of notes to raise money to pursue his major conflict with Chiang Kai-shek, the Zhongyuan war. According to Fu Zuoyi in 1932, local promissory notes to a face value of six million yuan were in circulation. Fu also singled out Suiyuan's counties as contributing to the province's financial problems: they remitted extremely small sums to the province and there was no system of centralised accounting for their revenue. At the same time their exactions on the local populace were heavy with several tens of different types of surcharges or "special assessments" (*tankuan*) demanded of locals. In speeches Fu advocated a centralised system of accounting. Part of the solution to the financial problem of the

[13] *STZG* manuscript, 59th and 60th juan. See also previous chapter on revenue from land reclamation used for military requirements.

[14] Zhang Menglan, "Zai Xibei shang tantan Xibei de zaiqing," *Xibei*, no. 2 (April 1929), p. 6.

[15] Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord*, pp. 204-205.

[16] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan*, *xunhua* section, p. 1.

[17] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* (Guisui, 1933), Section 10, Chapter 1, p. 2.

worthless Suiyuan and Shanxi notes was to use the most lucrative and jealously guarded funds from local counties' opium "fines" (*yan kuan*), in effect taxes on opium acreage payable in hard currency, to convert old notes into reliable currency (a process known as *dui xian*).[18] Finally local banking and commerce suffered a decline in the late 1920s not only because of the military unrest, but also because of the severing of the formerly substantial and prosperous trading links with Outer Mongolia. During 1928 and 1929 the Mongolian People's Republic re-oriented its trade towards the Soviet Union and blocked trade with China, a move which devastated Suiyuan's trading economy.[19]

Banditry

Banditry was likewise a continuing problem in Suiyuan from the early Republic onwards. The weakness of state authority, the large expanse of territory and its frontier nature, poverty, and military violence all contributed to the problem. As we have seen in the previous chapter, banditry severely curtailed the efforts of land reclaimers in the Houtao area and forced the abandonment of land. According to a report produced in 1919, banditry had been responsible for the serious disruption of agricultural production in several of the counties of the SSAR in the years from 1912 to 1918.[20] From 1915 to 1917 the bandit chief Lu Zhankui united with elements of a secret society, the *gelaohui*, and gathered a force numbering as many as 6,000 men to occupy sections of western Suiyuan and attack Baotou.[21] The response of Suiyuan authorities was usually ineffectual. Special funds from central government for the eradication of bandits were used by the Suiyuan military governor, Cai Chengxun, in 1917 to absorb some bandit groups into the local military—a dubious strategy also employed by

[18] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan*, *diaocha* section, p. 45.

[19] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, Section 10, Chapter 1, p. 3. See also the report on the effect of the severing of trade between Suiyuan and Outer Mongolia and the need to revive this trade in *SRB*, 22 February 1933.

[20] Zhang Yanan, *Diaocha Suiyuan tebie quyu nongye xunxu baogao* (1919), pp. 9-11.

[21] Hao Weimin (ed.), *Nei Menggu jindai jian shi* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1990), p. 99. Rong Xiang in his memoir recalls that Lu Zhankui's forces kidnapped the head of Tuoketuo County, Xu Langxi, and the Salaqi County head, Deng Shushan, only escaped by disguising himself. See Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," part 2, *Nei Menggu tushuguan gongzuo*, no. 2 (1984), p. 32.

later governments in Suiyuan (see below). Indeed at the local level the distinction between bandits and soldiers or bandits and the local "peace preservation corps" (*baoweituan*) was extremely fine. The county seat of Dongsheng in the Ordos was abandoned in 1925 because of endemic banditry and county administration was carried out from within Baotou and later from Guisui County as late as 1931. The arrival of Feng Yuxiang's forces in the area and the installation of Feng's lieutenant Li Mingzhong in the Suiyuan military governorship in early 1925 saw an unprecedented campaign to suppress banditry. Bandits in the Houtao who had formerly had no qualms about entering Baotou were reported to be scarce "within 60 li of Baotou." However, the respite was brief. By December of the same year, large numbers of Feng's troops were withdrawn from Suiyuan and sent southwards to reinforce Feng's lines in the Tianjin-Beijing area. With this sudden reduction of military in the area, bandits once again became resurgent and grew in numbers in the turmoil of the famine years. The unstable military situation in Suiyuan during 1926 added to the problem by increasing the availability of arms and munitions for local bandits. Li Mingzhong's successor, Shang Zhen, in an effort to stabilise control and increase his authority enrolled some of the larger bandit groupings, such as those led by Wang Ying in the Houtao region and Wang Desheng, as components within his army. The new-found veneer of legitimacy only increased the scale of such groups' exactions on the local populace.[24] According to one account, in 1926:

> Just in the area between Suiyuan [i.e. Guisui] and Baotou alone there were over thirty bandit groups of some fame: around Chasuqi there was Ren Fuxiang, Little Horse, Fan Fuhai, Guang Yi, and Er Youzi and several other bands; between Salaqi and Tuoketuo were the bands of Wu Ganliang, Si Qiyang, Du Weicheng, Blind Nian, Reckless Three, Si Luotuan and others; the neighbourhood of Meidaizhao had Eight Sounds Su, Kong Laodan, and Zhao Jiuzi; in the vicinity of Salaqi were Feng Liukui, Shang Desheng, Yang Erhan, Li Laome, Xin Dezhu, Wang Youyuan, Xu Wenzhi, Dai Haiyuan, Little Gold, Zhang Hui and others; between Salaqi and Baotou were Chen Desheng, Little Wanwan, Cen Dekui, Zhang Shengrong, Zhou Hongbing and their bands; and finally, around Baotou, operated the bands of 'Blisters' You, 'Artillery Shell' Zhang, Li Sanhe, 'Baldy' Guo, Rotten High Face and a few others. All of these listed were bandit groups with a certain 'fame.' [Besides these] were an uncountable number of miscellaneous and unknown bandits.[25]

Banditry continued to flourish into the 1930s and bandit suppression remained a perennial problem for local governmental authorities.[26]

[22] "Kelian de Dongsheng xian," *Dagong bao*, 17 March, 1930 p. 5.
[23] See report in *Shenbao*, 30 December, 1925 p. 4.
[24] Zhao Guoding (narrated) Liu Yingyuan (arranged), "Shiyuantang jiu hua," *Wo de jingli jianwen*, *NMWSZL*, no. 31, p. 76. Wang Ying was the son of the famous Hetao channel builder and landlord Wang Tongchun.

Drought and Floods

The transit of Feng's troops, as well as the entry into Suiyuan of Shanxi troops and Zhang Zuolin's soldiers, plus the resurgence in banditry, left the region ravaged and with food production systems under serious strain; however, worse was to come. The year 1926 was dry and many crops withered before they could be harvested.[27] The years 1927 and 1928 brought unprecedented and prolonged drought in Suiyuan. Although areas where channels still functioned in the Houtao were less dependent upon rain, rainfall was critical in other areas of agricultural production in Suiyuan such as the Tumed plain, the counties of Guyang and Wuchuan beyond the Daqing mountains and the five eastern Suiyuan counties.[28] However, even the irrigated land of the Houtao experienced a dramatically reduced harvest in 1928 and "[when] starving people entered the [Hou]tao to eat, Wu[yuan] and Lin[he] counties announced a grain famine."[29] The *Linhe County Gazetteer* records that 40,000 people from Suiyuan's eastern counties entered Linhe in 1928 in search of food.[30] Finally in 1929 large areas of the Tumed plain experienced severe flooding which washed away seedlings and destroyed the mud walls of houses.[31] The accumulated effect of these natural disasters was a famine of unprecedented scale and duration in Suiyuan. Famine victims abandoned their villages and

[25] Ji Kuiyuan, "Shang Zhen zai Suiyuan de jijian shi," *HSL* no. 3, pp. 145-146. The bandit names here are mainly pseudonyms and nicknames. The more obvious ones I have translated. Others I have left in Chinese. Some names contain local dialect words and the Chinese written form is an attempt at representing the sounds.
[26] Reports on banditry and bandit suppression appeared regularly in the *Suiyuan Daily* from 1931 to 1937.
[27] Tian Huiqin, Wu Lianshu, "Minguo shiba nian Huhehaotede zaihuang," *HSL*, no. 4, p. 321.
[28] As has been noted elsewhere, these counties were retroceded to Suiyuan on its elevation to provincial status in January 1929.
[29] *Guisui xian zhi* quoted in "Tumote lidai ziran zaihai," p. 201.
[30] Wang Wenchi et. al., *Linhe xian zhi* (Linhe, 1931. Reprint edition Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), p. 214.
[31] See rainfall figures for Guisui for the period in *STZG* 1971, 8th juan, pp. 5-6.

took to the roads, many following the rail tracks into Guisui and Baotou. By 1929 the Suiyuan Relief Association (*Suiyuan zhenwu hui*) counted over 100,000 famine victims who had arrived in Guisui County, and the starving crowded the streets of the provincial capital.[32] Others headed south to Shanxi province. A report published in the journal *Northwest* in 1929 claimed that in the worst hit of Suiyuan's counties: "Salaqi, Tuoketuo, Guyang, and Baotou... countless victims of starvation don't die in their native place but on the road. Large villages of two or three hundred families have now been reduced to three or four families and families now don't exceed two or three people in size."[33] The *Guisui County Gazetteer*, summing up from the vantage point of 1934, concluded: "although there was relief assistance... the impact [of such assistance] was minimal. There were the dead, the sold, the escaped and the scattered; and the dead were the majority."[34]

Just after the floods on the Tumed plain of 1929 a local relief official reported on the situation in these terms:

> Over the last four years Suiyuan Province has repeatedly suffered the ravages of soldiers and bandits, drought, hail, high winds, earthquakes, bubonic plague, etc... Apart from locusts and floods there is not one type of affliction that Suiyuan had not suffered to the utmost. And so this place's people have reached their breaking point. Suiyuan's population does not exceed 2.5 million and now the number of disaster sufferers has reached 1.9 million people—80 per cent of the population. If relief plans are still not made, the future is unimaginable. Each time Beipingers hear of famine victims eating tree bark and grass they think this is terrible However, as I see it... if you take the example of Suiyuan, such people are among the better off. Now the food of Suiyuan people consists of adults eating children, and the living eating the corpses of the dead.. [R]epresentatives sent by the central government, and foreign charities and philanthropists such the American Red Cross and the China International Famine Relief Commission, as well as French, Belgian, and Swedish missionaries, all attest in past and present surveys that the disaster situation in Suiyuan province is the worst in North China.[35]

[32] Quoted in Tian Huiqin & Wu Lianshu, "Minguo shiba nian Huhehaote de zaihuang," p. 325. The Suiyuan Relief Association was originally established in November 1926 by local gentry as the *Suiyuan quanqu hanzai bingzai jiujihui* (The Suiyuan Region-wide Famine and Military Disaster Relief Association).

[33] *Xibei*, no. 2 (1929), p. 2.

[34] *Guisui xian zhi* quoted in "Tumote lidai ziran zaihai." *Tumote shiliao*, no. 10, p. 201.

[35] Qiao Yunzhong, "Suiyuan quansheng shiba nianfen zai kuang ji zhenwu." *Xibei*, no. 9 (November 1929), pp. 10-11. Qiao's figure for Suiyuan's total population at the time is higher than accounts would have it in the 1930s. See for example the figures quoted in the report in *SRB*, 12 August 1932, which gives a total population for Suiyuan in 1930 of just under 2 million people.

The official went on to describe the finalisation of plans for the digging of the People's Livelihood Channel in Salaqi County for drought relief in early 1929:

> All plans were complete when suddenly the area was hit by heavy rain which fell incessantly from 27 July to 9 August. The Yellow River broke its banks for a distance of over 200 li and flooded Guisui and Baotou and another nine counties as well as the two banners to the west of Baotou... Now Autumn has arrived and the ground has already frozen. There is no hope at all for the autumn harvest and all the efforts on the new channel have been abandoned.[36]

Grain shortages and starvation, natural disasters, and banditry continued to plague Suiyuan through the 1930s. The *Liuhe County Gazeteer* published in 1931, a year or more after Suiyuan's famine conditions had abated, claimed that in terms of agriculture "over the most recent five years because of disaster both natural and man-made... demand for grain now exceeds supply and the price [of grain remains] extremely high."[37] In summer 1934 many counties on the Tumed plain were ravaged by floods which washed away large stretches of the Beiping-Suiyuan railway line. Fu Zuoyi in an appeal for central government assistance described the floods as inundating areas of the provincial capital which had never before been affected by floods.[38] In the same year no rain fell in Linhe County "from Spring to Summer," irrigation channels dried up and the price of grain became highly inflated to the point that people starved to death.[39] The next year there was no hope for the autumn harvest in Linhe because of heavy flooding.[40]

The Depths of Suiyuan's Backwardness

The desperation of life in Suiyuan inevitably formed the backdrop to characterisations of the area and understandings of Suiyuan's place within the wider Republic. For many, Suiyuan's conditions cast it into

[36] *SRB*, 12 August 1932.

[37] Wang Wenchi et al. *Linhe xian zhi* (1931, Reprint, Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), p. 174.

[38] Quoted in Wang Xinmin, "Suiyuan zaiqing ji qi jiuji," *Xibei lunheng*, no. 11 (July 1934), p. 3.

[39] Wang Xinmin, "Suiyuan zaiqing ji qi jiuji," p. 3.

[40] *Xibei lunheng*, no. 20 (October 1935), p. 1.

a world quite different to that of China's provinces to the south. The immediate contrast lay with its relatively more prosperous southern neighbour, Shanxi province. This contrast was also imbued with the colonial terms of the relationship between the two provinces. In the introduction to a grim short story about banditry in Suiyuan published in the local progressive youth journal, the *Fiery Pit Weekly*, in 1931, the journal's editor prefaced the piece by commenting that "the scourge of soldiers and bandits over the years in Suiyuan is thousands of times worse than in Shanxi. I'm afraid that Shanxi people could never even dream of the depth of suffering of people [in Suiyuan]."[41]

Consider again the description of the trip a local writer (most probably the journalist Yang Lingde) made from Suiyuan to Taiyuan (the capital of Shanxi) in 1929 "out of the bandit world and the human hell of Suiyuan," to the "model province" of Shanxi.[42] The account focused upon one of the most heart-rending consequences of the famine in Suiyuan: the selling of women and children. The practice grew so rife that the Suiyuan government intervened in 1929 to ban such transactions.[43] Beside the author sat a "38 year-old Shanxi man" with his new 16 year- old wife recently purchased in Suiyuan:

> Along the way [from Guisui to the Shanxi border] were many signs which proclaimed in large letters "STAMP OUT MARRIAGE TRADING."
> "You Shanxi people come each year to Suiyuan to buy a lot of wives and them take back with you!" I said carelessly.
> "Of course, lots!" [He replied] "There is so much poverty and suffering in Suiyuan, this is the main reason why Suiyuan 'exports' people."
> I could only laugh bitterly... Suiyuan, I'm afraid the only people it produces are bandits that murder people and burn property ...!
> "In the first place you have too many bandits in Suiyuan," he sighed and then continued to expound, "in Shanxi thieves can't exist. In all villages the village head is strict in all matters If you're a thief, there is simply no place for you to lay a foot..."[44]

The trade in women from famine-impoverished Suiyuan was a powerful metaphor for the completeness of Shanxi's dominance over Suiyuan. Suiyuan's women could also be used in other representations which drew out other facets of Suiyuan's backwardness. The sudden whirlwind appearance of a Feng Yuxiang-controlled administration in

[41] *Huokeng zhoukan*, no. 26 (1931), p. 4.
[42] Yan Xishan's program of administration and development in Shanxi was commonly held up as a developmental model in China at the time.
[43] See Tian Weiqin and Wu Lianshu, "Minguo shibanian Huhehaote de zaihuang," p. 326.
[44] "Cong Suiyuan dao Taiyuan," *Huokeng zhoukan*, no. 24, (July 1929), p 15.

1925 saw the Suiyuan circuit send out an order to all counties and preparatory counties to work actively against footbinding in local areas:

> This [i.e. footbinding] is the worst of China's bad practices, and among our Suiyuan's women the fashion of footbinding is the most rampant...[I]n the Inland [*nei di*] provinces this fashion is already no longer visible. However the majority of people in our Suiyuan counties think of [the bound foot] as a thing of beauty...[45]

Six years later the situation had not changed much. In one of a series of "traveling letters" published in the major Tianjin daily newspaper *Dagong bao* in March 1931, a journalist visiting Baotou highlighted the same question: "those that have unbound their feet," wrote the reporter, "number one in a hundred. In the streets and laneways of Baotou 'three inch golden lilies' [bound feet] are all that the eye can see."[46] In the journalist's eyes Suiyuan province was "a crippled child without a mother;" and the province's greatest export, it seemed from what he observed, was "young women."[47]

The *Dagong bao* journalist drew attention to the other components of Suiyuan's backwardness in the series of fourteen letters published replete with such headlines as "Misery of the [Bei]ping-Sui[yuan] line," "Baotou's Decay," "Pitiful Dongsheng County," and "Opium in the Open In Sa[laqi] County." The reports described Suiyuan's financial chaos, its flourishing opium growing and trade, rampant banditry, the prevalence of prostitution and "ruined shoes [*po xie*, women of loose morals] more numerous than cattle and sheep," starvation, desperation, and hopelessness. Society in Guisui, according to one "letter," was full of loafers: Mongols were stupid and turned "good agricultural fields into wilds," and although the local Han, particularly those that came from Shanxi, had commercial talent, "the majority of those that have lived beyond the Passes for a long time have taken up the bad habits of the natives."[48] Indeed, in the eyes of some in the 1930s, Suiyuan's fitness to stand on equal terms alongside the Republic's other provinces could be questioned. Suiyuan was a "motherless child", or a "bastard province."[49] When a healer claiming

[45] *Suiyuan yuekan*, vol. 1, no. 3 (April 1925), p. 1.
[46] "Baotou zhi qisu," *Dagong bao*, 20 March 1931, p. 4.
[47] "Zuo huoche dao Baotou," *Dagong bao*, 11 March 1931, p. 4.
[48] See the series of fourteen "letters" appearing under the collective title "Ping-Sui youxing" progressively published in *Dagong bao*, 15-30 March 1931.
[49] On this last typification see Zhang Xiamin, "Xian'gei Dagong bao de Ping Sui tongxun jizhe," *SYPXX*, vol. 2, no. 2/3 (April 1931), p. 55.

supernatural powers was finally unmasked by a local doctor after a brief period of popularity in Guisui in 1932, one writer saw the charlatan's success as one more indictment of Suiyuan's backwardness, which showed the area's unfitness to be considered a province. "Ai! unfortunate Suiyuan," bemoaned the article rhetorically; "why have you already moved from Special Region to the status of an administrative province? Have you completely cast aside your 'Special' flavour?"[50]

The depth of Suiyuan's backwardness and suffering disqualified it from being considered an equal member of the community of the Republic's provinces to the south. Ultimately, however, Suiyuan sufferings and woes confirmed once again its place within the nation's Northwest.

The Northwest and Backwardness

The poverty and backwardness of Suiyuan were symptomatic of a broader crisis affecting the whole of the Republic's Northwest. As we have seen in Chapter Two, definitions of exactly what constituted the Northwest in a geographical sense at this time were contested. All agreed, however, that backwardness and suffering remained central attributes of the Northwestern condition. Suiyuan's experience of famine could be seen as a typical Northwestern phenomenon. An analysis from 1929 argued that out of the five Northwestern provinces affected by famine—Suiyuan, Gansu, Shaanxi, Chahar, and Shanxi—the most extensive suffering was in Shaanxi and Gansu. Suiyuan, however, had a smaller number of counties and a smaller population than these two provinces and so, when looking at the reality of suffering in Suiyuan, the balance between life and death was just as critical as in the two larger provinces.[51] The famine in the *Guanzhong* or central region of Shaanxi from 1928 to 1931 affected a population of six million people and reduced it by half. Many of the same factors were present, including the exactions of Feng Yuxiang's Guominjun, severe drought, and the weakness of government-sponsored relief efforts. The same causes also underlay the famine in Gansu.[52]

[50] Zhong Sheng, "Pochu mixin yundong zhong zhi huo shenxian," *SYPXX*, vol. 3, no. 1/2 (January 1932), p.10.

[51] Zhang Menglan, "Zai Xibei shang tantan Xibei de zaiqing," p. 3.

[52] Eduard B. Vermeer, *Economic Development in Provincial China: The Central Shaanxi Since 1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 31-32. On the famine in Gansu at the same time see Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord*, pp. 196-197.

By the mid-1930s writers concerned with the problems of the Northwest's poverty and lack of development cited three common causes: banditry; the prevalence of opium production, and the over-reliance of Northwestern provincial governments on excessive taxes and imposts (*ke juan*). Once again Suiyuan displayed all of these "Northwestern" traits in abundance. In early 1931 Chiang Kai-shek appealed to China's provinces to further national unity by reducing or abolishing all *lijin* or transit taxes for goods. Suiyuan, however, despite repeated central government appeals, pleaded poverty and maintained them.[53] Indeed by 1934 Fu Zuoyi's government had still not removed the transit taxes, and in the intervening years had actually brought in a series of newer sundry taxes.[54]

Such suffering and misery, then, became an important element in representations of the Northwest and in comprehending it as a place within the Republic of the 1930s. Suiyuan also gained an important layer of meaning in this context. The rejuvenation of a central national political authority in Nanjing in April 1927 under the banner of the GMD and the success of the Northern Expedition in the following year ushered in a new period of national optimism. At the dawn of this new era, however, the Northwest was racked by widespread famine, military violence, and banditry. Although other areas of China suffered appalling famines and disasters in the same period—in summer 1931, for example, unprecedented flooding turned the lower Yangzi River valley into a massive disaster area affecting five provinces and a population of over 23 million—the quality of Northwestern suffering and backwardness marked it as distinct from other areas of the nation.[55] As a writer in the journal *Northwestern Debate* expressed it:

> The Northwest is on the borders, culture is backward, politics and administration are murky, and education is corrupted. Compared to it, the Inland (*nei di*) is a paradise... The people [of the Northwest] are assailed by both poverty and fatigue, and are exhausted from obeying officials.[56]

[53] Cheng Xu, "Suiyuan feichu keza ji dibu wenti," *Xibei lunheng*, no. 14 (1 November 1934), p. 6.

[54] Cheng Xu, "Suiyuan feichu keza ji dibu wenti," pp. 6-7.

[55] Zhu Hanguo (ed.), *Nanjing guomin zhengfu jishi* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1993), p. 209.

[56] "Suo wang yu Jiang weiyuanzhang zhi Xibei xing," *Xibei lunheng*, no. 14 (1 November 1934), p. 1.

When another journalist from *Dagong bao*, Zhang Jiluan, visited Guisui in July 1931 to report on the opening ceremony for the doomed People's Livelihood Channel, he gave a speech to locals which was enthusiastically transcribed and republished in a local newspaper and in *Fiery Pit Weekly*. In it he drew a picture of what Suiyuan's Northwestern status meant:

> Your brother [Zhang] is from Yulin in the Shaanbei [Northern Shaanxi] so, although to the people from the relief fund who have accompanied me, our journey to Suiyuan means going "beyond the Passes" [*Sai wai*], for me it is like returning home. In the days I have been here I have come to feel that this place's language and customs, and even the colour of the sky and the wind that whips up dust and sand are all the same as in the Shaanbei...
>
> The lives of us Northwesterners are really full of pain. This pain is both material and spiritual. Because material objects and industry are scarce ordinary people feel that there is no way out. The more educated one is, the more one feels the dullness, loneliness, and boredom of life. The common way is to go into commerce, that is to trade hides and wool, and peddle some foreign goods; if not, then chance fate and peddle opium. In a world where the twentieth century is already a quarter gone, in a post-revolutionary China, we Northwesterners live a monotonous nineteenth-century lifestyle. How tragic and pitiful this is![57]

The answer, according to Zhang, lay in hard work and purposeful activity: "to develop the land and increase production. At the same time you must teach your sons; they must receive an education..."[58]

Poverty, backwardness, and hopelessness were, it seems, ingrained traits of the Northwestern condition. Beside a stark woodcut image of a bent old man the following "Biography of An Old Northwesterner" appeared in the December 1934 issue of *Northwestern Debate*:

> The old Northwesterner is a descendent of the Hu, the Han, the Manchu, and the Mongol. As a child he is called familiarly Ajin, Ayin, Amao, Agou, or Aniu... At school he bears such names as Fugui, Duoyuan or Duokui, and Shengcai [i.e. names auspiciously predicting future riches or power].
>
> When he is born in the dreary murky yellow gleam of an oil lamp into a piss pot filled with cold or warm water, a good neighbour, Wang's fourth aunt, uses a ragged cloth to wrap him. Crooked and bent he lies on the earthen *kang*, and for this reason his body is hunchbacked and his shoulders are not level.
>
> Barely started with his studies, he's soon wallowing in the mud and slush. His parents allow it... At the age of seven he's herding sheep for someone. At ten he marries Li's second daughter. At fifteen he's accomplished at agriculture and by this stage he has three children. By the time he's twenty he has eight children and, although three aren't raised [i.e. they die as infants], all is in accord with the blessing "great fortune, long life, many sons." At sunrise he works, and at sunset retires... He has tilled [the land] for forty years and is not even modestly comfortable. Through his life he has saved 200 yuan which is hidden underground. This year he will be sixty. He suffers from innumerable ailments the most obvious signs of which are his vomiting stomach-fulls of green phlegm and his shortness of breath...
>
> Three sons follow the father's trade, another studied business unsuccessfully, and yet another is current studying law at University and next year he will take the County Executive examination. Now [the old man] painfully draws breath in a Northwestern country village. A bad year of floods or drought will be his last.[59]

A degree of ambiguity informs this portrait. The picture drawn is too detailed to serve completely as an archetype. Nonetheless the author, most likely a student studying law at Beiping University, seems to intend the piece as a flat representation of the lot of those who remain mired in Northwestern village life. A note of cautious optimism seems to surround the educational advancement of the old Northwesterner's son. Education alongside material development, as Zhang Jiluan noted in the quote above, was a key strategy out of the morass of Northwestern backwardness. It is to the educational enterprise in Suiyuan that we now turn.

Education In Suiyuan

Education in the Area Under the Qing

Several forms of schooling or instruction existed in congruence with the different systems of administration and culture in southwestern Mongolia during the Qing. The larger monasteries in the network of Lamaistic Buddhist monasteries through the area provided training in the Tibetan monastic tradition for Mongol boys destined to become monks. This tradition of instruction continued into the Republic.[60] For

[57] "Suiyuan fulaomen! qingnianmen!" *Huokeng zhoukan*, no. 25 (July 1931), p. 1.
[58] "Suiyuan fulaomen! qingnianmen!" p. 1.

[59] "Xibei laoren zhuan," *Xibei lunheng*, no. 16 (December 1934), p. 27.
[60] See for example the careers of Ji Yatai, the Tumed Mongol Communist who was a boy lama in Guihua before joining the CCP, and Rong Xiang's younger brother who became the administrative head or *da lama* at Batogar Sume or Wudangzhao monastery north of Baotou. See Justin Tighe, "Revolution Beyond the Wall: Tumed Mongol Memoirs and the Construction of an Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Narrative

Manchu and Mongol Bannermen, the ability to participate in the imperial civil service examinations was one of the privileges of Bannerman life that distinguished them from local Han and non-eight banner Mongols for much of the Qing.[61] By the mid-1700s two "Officials' Schools" (*guan xue*) existed which catered exclusively for their own narrow constituencies. Within the walls of the Suiyuan Town garrison one "Officials' School" was established to train Manchu and Mongol Bannermen in military skills and translation, and to provide training in the Chinese Classics for the civil service examinations.[62] The function of the other, the Tumed Banner Officials' School located in Guihua Town, was to train Tumed Mongol talent in administrative skills for Banner administration.[63] Meanwhile Han settlers in the area set up many small privately or family-run "one-teacher tutorial schools" or *sishu*. These equipped Han and some Mongol boys with rudimentary literacy and exposure to the Classics. Above the *sishu*, but in no way connected with it, were several *yi xue* or charitable schools. The earliest of these was the Gu Feng Charitable School established in around 1807 in Guihua Town. Local sub-prefectural officials jointly organised this school and it was funded according to a set allocation of costs between the then five sub-prefectures of the Circuit.[65]

Finally, several academies or *shuyuan* appeared in Guihua and Suiyuan towns in the late Qing. The *shuyuan* was at least in pretension distinguished from the *yi xue* by its seniority and existed to educate scholars.[66] The Gu Feng Charitable School converted to an academy in 1875. The two other academies in Guihua and Suiyuan towns were reorganised versions of the two original Officials' Schools already mentioned. The Tumed Banner Officials' School became the Qiyun

1919-1928," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, La Trobe University, 1993), pp. 35, 41.

[61] On the Han perception of this privilege see the memoir of Zhao Guoding who grew up the son of a Han Chinese clerk in Suiyuan Town at the turn of the 20th century Zhao Guoding and Liu Yingyuan, "Shi yuan tang jiu hua," p. 42.

[62] On Manchu education during the Qing see Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," in B.A. Elman and A. Woodside (eds), *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), especially pp. 348-365.

[63] Yun Suzhen and Rong Zhulin, *Tumote xuexiao gaikuang* (Huhehaote, 1984), p 2.

[64] Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change In China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983), p 12.

[65] *Guisui shi lüe*, 13th juan, in Nei Menggu jiaoyu zhi bianxiehui (ed.), *Nei Menggu jiaoyu shizhi ziliao* 2 vols, (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1995) (hereafter abbreviated as *NMJYSZ*), vol. 1, part 1, p. 31.

[66] Borthwick, *Education and Social Change In China*, p. 12.

Academy and the former Suiyuan Town Officials' School transformed into the Qixiu Academy. This transformation was, in part, indicative of the breakdown of the classic Qing order of rigidly distinct imperial peoples. Alongside classes in Mongol and Manchu at the Qiyun Academy, for example, students now took lessons and read texts in Chinese—a language formerly proscribed for Mongols.[67]

The establishment of the academies should be seen in the context of demands from local officials for greater administrative recognition of the sub-prefectures of the Guisui Circuit. As we have seen in Chapter Two, local Han scholarly aspirants who wished to take the civil service examinations had to do so in their county of origin. This usually meant an ancestral county south of the Pass; however many Han settler families had lived in what became Suiyuan for generations and had lost contact with the county from which their ancestors had departed long before. This obstacle to educational advancement was an important argument in the call for nativisation—the recognition of local Han as natives of the sub-prefectures. The broader rationale for this reform emphasised the need to re-order the administration of the Guisui Circuit so as to better control the lawlessness and disorderly nature of this frontier society. Taken with other reforms, the governor of Shanxi at the time, Zhang Zhidong, argued that recognition of the Circuit's sub-prefectures within the imperial examination system of quotas and expanding educational opportunity for local scholars would have a "taming" effect on the Han populace that would result in a general cultural uplifting.[68]

The question of dedicated scholarly quotas also marked an important moment in the re-positioning of Han settlers of the Circuit within the emerging discourse on national development in the late Qing. The specific development and fostering of Han talent in the area of the Circuit had not been emphasised during most of the Qing period because of the de facto nature of these settlers. Now, with the Han presence deemed legitimate, the beginnings of a new concern about the area's backwardness and lack of development vis-à-vis the wider nation could be discerned. As one official put it:

> If no means is devised to foster [talent], not only will the morale of the educated not be increased, it will also have a real impact upon popular feeling and customs, and talent will not be picked to flourish... If

[67] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao* (1936) extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 48.

[68] Zhang Zhidong, "Qing biantong bian que zhe" (9 September 1882), *Zhang Wenxian gong quanji*, 5th juan, 27th page (p 167).

> schools are established, the basis [of the area] is fostered and intellectual breadth is recovered. How then can the people of the border sub-prefectures not be equal to being pillars of the nation [*guojia*]?...[69]

This question in essence became the central concern of educationalists in Republican Suiyuan.

The Guisui Circuit sub-prefectures finally gained officially apportioned quotas for *wensheng*, or civil examination students, in 1888. By the time of the abolition of the system of imperial civil examinations in 1905 the Circuit had produced around 180 officially certified *shengyuan* (those who had passed the lowest level of the three-tier system of degrees).[70] Representation in the civil exam system quotas also gave the area the beginnings of a local educational bureaucracy which was to develop more fully in the Republic.

In the period of Yigu's command of the Suiyuan Town generalship (1902-1908), in line with reforms in the imperial educational system, the three academies of the twin towns were remodeled as *xuetang*, or new schools, with modernised curricula. The Guisui Middle School (*Guisui zhong xuetang*) replaced the Gu Feng Academy, and became the central as well as the highest-level institution producing Suiyuan's elite throughout the Republic. The Qixiu Academy became the site of the Suiyuan Middle School and the centre for a small efflorescence of short-lived lower level schools for Bannermen. These all vanished at the end of the Empire. Suiyuan Middle School was incorporated into Guisui Middle School and Bannermen grew increasingly marginalised in the new order.[71] Tumed Mongols were more fortunate. The Tumed Upper Primary School (*Tumote gaodeng xiao xuetang*) replaced the Qiyun Academy in 1907, and this new institution was to remain a poorly-funded but vital producer of a Tumed Mongol educated elite in the Republic.[72] Finally, in this last decade of the Empire, several

[69] "Shandong dao jiancha yushi Wang Gengrong zou qing shi she Guihua ting xue zhe," (1877) in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 6.

[70] "Wen wu sheng xingming jiguan nianyue biao," from *Suiyuan tong zhi gao* (1936), in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 20-27.

[71] The position of the Manchu community of Guisui in the Republic continued to decline into the 1930s. According to a report in the *Suiyuan Daily* in September 1935, Suiyuan's Banner people had reduced from around 10,000 in number in 1912 to 4000 in 1935 and suffered particularly from poverty. In 1927 a scheme to settle Manchus on grants of reclaimed land in the Houtao was largely unsuccessful. The Suiyuan government retained a Banner Affairs Office (*qiwuchu*) and in March 1935 established a relief office for Manchus. See *SRB*, 23 September 1935.

[72] *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, pp. 84 -90. See also Yun Suzhen and Rong Zhulin, *Tumote xuexiao gaikuang*, pp. 1-31.

Upper Primary Schools also appeared in the better established counties of Guisui Circuit.

Education in Republican Suiyuan

A defining characteristic of the modernising project which began in the late Qing and continued into the Republic was the expansion of the state's purview into areas formerly untouched by the earlier imperial government. This expansion of state purpose and responsibility and its increased penetration, as well as the adaptation of Western and Japanese-influenced notions of modern administration, led to education becoming a major responsibility of government. In the Republic education became one the largest items of government expenditure at both provincial and county levels.[73]

Suiyuan was no exception to this trend, and the educational bureaucracy developed rapidly in the early Republic. Education offices grew progressively in number and seniority from 1915 when an inspector (*dao shi xue*) was appointed to oversee the improvement of county-level education. In 1919 the All-Suiyuan Educational Association formed at the first Suiyuan Education Administrative Conference in Guisui. Representatives from all of Suiyuan's counties attended and approved the establishment of county-level "Education Promotion Offices" (*quanxuesuo*). The Association met annually, and at the second conference in 1920 it established quotas and funding arrangements for local students to advance their studies in Beijing, elsewhere in China, and overseas. Under Ma Fuxiang in 1922 Suiyuan's government gained an "Educational Affairs Bureau" (*xuewu ju*) which finally became a fully-fledged regional governmental department in August 1924. Guo Xiangji, a native of Qingshuihe County and local graduate of the final round of Qing civil service examinations in 1905, was the first departmental head.[74] In October of the same year, the county-level Education Promotion Offices increased in seniority to become Education Bureaus (*jiaoyuju*). Educational offices now extended to sub-county district or ward (*qu*) and township level (*xiang*).[75]

[73] Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 4.

[74] "Suiyuan jiaoyu ting yange shu lue," *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 2 (1925), *jizai* section, p. 1.

[75] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52nd juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, pp.

Underneath this developing structure of local educational administration, Suiyuan's educational institutions grew in number and variety. The system of primary schools throughout the counties expanded. A Normal school (*shifan xuexiao*) for training teachers was established in Guisui in 1922, and in September 1924 a vocational school, the Northwestern Industrial School, began to offer classes in agricultural science and business.[76] Local officials also established Guisui County First Girls' Primary School in 1914 and this gained an upper level primary class in 1918.[77] By 1924 small numbers of female students were admitted to the Region's major middle schools and in September 1925 the Suiyuan First Girls' Normal School opened its doors. Besides this, local educationalists also experimented with mass and popular education. In 1922 Suiyuan students studying at universities in Beijing returned to start up an educational theatre in Guisui out of which grew the "Common People's School" (*pingmin xuexiao*). This school gained institutional legitimacy when the local educational bureaucracy took it over in 1924. By 1928 there was a network of 64 "Common People's" schools attached to regular schools throughout the counties of Suiyuan. In 1927 the office in charge of this network established a mobile library equipped with "popular picture books" and a magic lantern slide show which toured Suiyuan's counties on a fixed schedule.[78] The Popular Education Institute (*tongsu jiaoyusuo*) was the other major institutional initiative in mass education.[79] One of the legacies of the brief Feng Yuxiang regime of 1925-1926, this office of the education department had three components: an editorial section; a section in charge of popular lectures, and a drama section.[80] The Suiyuan provincial-level library was formed out of this Institute's library in 1925. Finally, the SSAR Education Department established Suiyuan's museum in 1926.[81]

Of course all of these efforts were concentrated in the counties and were chiefly for the benefit of Suiyuan's Han population.[82] Little was

173-176.

[76] *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 1 (1925), p. 39.

[77] *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 420.

[78] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52nd juan extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 728.

[79] In 1933 this became the Suiyuan Provincial Mass Education Office, or *Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan*.

[80] This institution changed its name several times. In the 1930s it became the Suiyuan Provincial Social Education Institute (*Suiyuan sheng shehui jiaoyusuo*). See "Suiyuan shehui jiaoyusuo yi lan" (1933) reproduced in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 713-718.

[81] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52nd juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 175.

[82] Tumed Mongols, however, could be said to be beneficiaries of this system; see

done or said on the question of Mongol education. Only briefly during the short period of Feng Yuxiang's control was a plan for Mongol education mooted. In this same year the Five Nations College (*wu zu xueyuan*) opened in Guisui. As the name suggests, this school included students from all the recognised major "nations" of the Republic and it explicitly "laid special emphasis on the knowledge of Mongol banner students." By 1927, however, the school had been renamed the Zhongshan College and its specialised purpose was de-emphasised.[83] The *Overview of Suiyuan* published in 1933 highlighted two aspects of activity in what it termed "Mongol Education": the "Suiyuan Province Educational Implementation Plan for Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues" (which was never implemented) and the rather anomalous Tumed Banner First Middle School. The following chapter explores in more detail Mongol participation—and lack thereof—in Suiyuan's education system.

By 1934 Suiyuan had eleven middle schools.[84] The Suiyuan provincial government directly funded and ran seven of these: Suiyuan First Middle School (also commonly known as Guisui Middle School), Suiyuan First Normal School, Suiyuan Girls' Normal School, Zhongshan College (which ran a Normal school curriculum), and the Suiyuan Vocational School. Outside of Guisui were Suiyuan Second Middle School in Baotou, and Suiyuan Second Normal School in Jining.[85] In addition the privately-funded Zhengfeng Middle School operated in Guisui, as did what was now the Tumed Banner First Middle and Attached Higher Primary School, funded by that Banner.[86] Finally, two Catholic middle schools run by a Belgian order of Catholic missionaries, the Scheut Fathers, also appeared in Guisui in the early 1930s.[87] Altogether these schools (exclusive of the Catholic middle schools) had around 1,400 students. For students to advance beyond this they had to travel, most usually to Beiping:

the following chapter for a discussion.

[83] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, section 11, p. 13.

[84] A private middle school, the Hetao Middle School, existed briefly in Wuyuan County in 1932 and 1933 but closed quickly because of insufficient funds. See *Suiyuan tong zhi gao*, 52nd juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 641.

[85] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, section 11, p. 2.

[86] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, section 11, p. 47. The Suiyuan Education Department granted what was the Tumed Upper Primary School the status of middle school in 1926. As of 1931 the school also took female students.

[87] See the table "The Catholic Church in China in 1934" in H.G.W. Woodhead (ed.), *The China Year Book 1935* (Shanghai: The North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., 1935), p. 318.

> Because Suiyuan province has few middle schools and school fees are difficult to raise, the province has no specialised universities. Because of the convenience of the Beiping-Suiyuan railway line, middle school graduates who wish to take further studies head to Beiping and Tianjin to take entry exams for the different public and private universities.[88]

By this time Suiyuan's provincial government provided bursaries to 100 local middle school graduates of 100 yuan per year each to study at various universities and colleges in Beiping and in other places within the nation.

Beneath the small cohort of privileged middle-school students lay Suiyuan's system of modern primary schools. According to figures for 1934, Suiyuan had about 970 primary schools spread throughout the counties. These ranged from larger county-run primary schools in the county seat with as many as nine or ten teaching staff to small one or two-teacher village schools run by the ward or township. The majority of these were Lower Primary schools (*chuji*).[89] The more populous or better-off counties such as Salaqi also had a county-administered girls' primary school. To this should be added the growing network of Catholic primary schools. The *sishu* schools that stubbornly remained in existence were seen as symptomatic of Suiyuan's backwardness, indeed they were "obstacles to educational development." The *Overview of Suiyuan* counted 1020 *sishu* still in existence in 1934.[90] Provincial funds were consequently dedicated to their eradication and replacement.

Education was clearly the only way out of backwardness yet, in spite of the gains in the development of educational infrastructure, the educational enterprise in Suiyuan even in the 1930s was still seen as unable to catch up with provinces to its south. In 1925 an education official writing in the *Suiyuan Educational Quarterly* described the situation in these stark terms:

> Because the area is situated on the borders, culture is in an extremely difficult condition. The whole region has only 640 primary schools, not even as many as one county in Jiangsu province! The difference in culture can be amply seen... If no means can be devised to promote [education] and to positively correct things, then [Suiyuan] will never have a hope of catching up to the cultural [standards] of the provinces of the Inland.[91]

[88] *Bianjiang jiaoyu*, pp. 115-116, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 783.
[89] *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 101.
[90] Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, section 11, p. 52.
[91] *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 2 (1925), p. 1.

Just short of a decade later, in 1934, a survey of the area's education concluded that there had been modest gains, but still much was sorely lacking. The writer of the "fourteen letters" on conditions in Suiyuan quoted earlier noted in his impressions of Baotou that education was not valued and standards were low. The poor condition of education in Suiyuan was yet another indication of Suiyuan's backwardness.[92] Part of the problem was priorities. According to the breakdown of expenditure of Salaqi County—one of the more educationally developed of Suiyuan's counties—for 1931, education (that is local bureaucracy and local schools) received 17 per cent of the total county budget, a figure about half the national average of 32 per cent. The largest item of Salaqi County expenditure in 1931 was the police and peace preservation corps (*baoweituan*), accounting for 41 per cent of the total budget. This was well above the national average at the time, of 19 per cent. There was a trade-off between these two largest items of county expenditure. Suiyuan's lawlessness and disorder, it would seem, not only disrupted schools but also took money away from education.[93]

A special report on female education in Suiyuan published in the *Suiyuan Provincial Education Monthly* in 1932 discussed the middle school situation for girls in Suiyuan: "although they cannot compare to the strengths of female students in China Proper in learning, in terms of thinking they [i.e Suiyuan's female middle school students] are not backward. This is a great blessing. In terms of comparative numbers [to males], however, there are still far too few."[94] The writer concluded this was because of the narrowness of educational opportunities for Suiyuan's girls. In providing dedicated middle-level educational infrastructure for girls, Suiyuan's government "had only considered one type of educational path: that of female teacher training," and student numbers at Suiyuan Girls' Normal School were more restricted than at other schools.[95]

What, then, did this modestly extensive, but poorly funded, educational infrastructure of Republican Suiyuan—its network of schools and students, its bureaucracy and teaching cohort, and its

[92] "Baotou zhi qisu," *Dagong bao*, 20 March 1931, p. 4.
[93] Figures for Salaqi are from the Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Chuxun huikan, diaocha* section, p. 51. The national average figures are from Sun Shaocun, "Difang caizheng duiyu nongcun jingji de yinxiang," *Zhongguo nongcun* 2, (September 1936), quoted in Duara, *Culture Power and the State*, p. 82.
[94] *Suiyuan sheng jiaoyu jikan*, no. 5/6 (1932). Article extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 738-744.
[95] *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 744.

scholarships and bursaries—produce? And in what ways did it contribute to Suiyuan's consolidation and development?

Educational Networks in Suiyuan

Although the direct impact of education on Suiyuan's material development was negligible, the benefits and results of education in Suiyuan lay in other directions. Education, as Helen Chauncey has pointed out in her study of local educational politics in northern Jiangsu province during the Republican period, was an important arena for collective elite action and the assertion of political agency in the early Republic.[96] Likewise in Suiyuan, an important result of the educational enterprise was the creation of a new sphere for political expression and action inhabited by educational bureaucrats, teachers, and students. Most crucially, it was in this sphere that a Suiyuan provincial identity was fostered and reinforced. Consequently there were two principal products of the education enterprise in Suiyuan. First, the new networks, pathways, and rituals that education created, by being essentially provincial and Suiyuan-centric, fostered and reinforced provincial identity. The second result, in many ways just as unintended, was the creation of a micro-economy of local writing or journalism, which also served to elaborate on the meaning of Suiyuan provincial identity.

The two major education networks in Suiyuan were the local education bureaucracy and the networks of students that came out of Suiyuan's schools. These two networks were not mutually exclusive, as many graduating students moved into the ranks of Suiyuan's education bureaucracy and teaching fraternity. Suiyuan's education bureaucracy and teachers rivaled Suiyuan's Land Reclamation Bureau in its spread and number of functionaries. It expanded to encompass three levels of government and school administration from the province down to the township and wards, and was active throughout all of Suiyuan's counties and preparatory counties. Beside the teachers and officials employed in this structure was the extremely important semi-official body, the All-Suiyuan Education Association (*Suiyuan quanqu jiaoyuhui*). This organisation, as mentioned earlier, came into being in 1919 and was formed "to casually discuss and propose

[96] Helen Chauncey, *Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1992), pp. 10-11.

improvements for this Region's education."[97] Most importantly, the Association pre-dated the emergence of the formal provincial-level state educational bureaucracy and in many ways was the guiding force which created it. Education administration conferences in Guisui in the 1920s with heads of counties, heads of county education offices, and headmasters of Guisui's schools in attendance were lively affairs.[98] Here they listened to each other's reports, and debated and voted on proposals. This journey to the provincial capital and the interaction and debate with fellow provincials reinforced and gave meaning to Suiyuan's distinctness and integrity, and was probably the most vital and participatory of elite political arenas within the local Republic. As we have seen, at just such a conference in 1920, attendees devised the system of bursaries for middle-school graduates to pursue higher-level studies outside of Suiyuan which was to become an important, though poorly-funded, mainstay of the Suiyuan education department's strategy to foster talent into the 1930s.

The same sort of process also worked itself upon the students as Suiyuan's hierarchy of schools developed.[99] Students usually began their journey by competing for places in "model" county-run primary schools in the county seat. After graduation a chosen few with either talent or money journeyed from their home counties to Guisui to take the entrance exam for entry into Guisui's middle schools. These students would room with fellow students from other areas in Suiyuan and become part of a particular year or class (*ban*). Such journeys to Guisui reinforced a sense of Suiyuan identity. Here new students came into contact with and sat in the classes of Suiyuan's educational elite and were expected to participate. In 1925 the 107 students at the Suiyuan Normal School were requested to help with the SSAR Education Department's mass education projects in their winter break.[100] In turn, a small number of these students after graduation would move on beyond the provincial world to higher education. In some cases students developed allegiances to particular teachers who would become patrons that fostered and aided the student's future career. The local journalist Yang Lingde recalls arriving in Guisui

[97] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52nd juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 173.

[98] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52nd juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 173.

[99] The ascending journey from countryside to city or from periphery to centre and up a corresponding "pyramid" of schools, as Anderson has pointed out, was a powerful force in the shaping of national consciousness among national elites. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism* (Revised edition, London, New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 121-129.

[100] *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 2 (1925), p. 6.

from his native Tuoketuo County in 1921 at the age of sixteen to take the examination for admission into Guisui Middle School. Yang passed and joined the eleventh class at the school where he quickly aligned himself with the headmaster, Qi Zhihou. A graduate of Beijing Normal University and a native of Salaqi County, Qi was active in local educational politics in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He briefly held the position of chief of the Suiyuan Education Department and also headed one of the major local factions of the GMD.[101] Qi fostered Yang's career in local journalism as Yang, in return, used his pen to support Qi.

Almost from the start of the Republic, Guisui's students were involved in political issues and protest. In the early 1920s Suiyuan's middle school students and elite primary-school students took on New Culture Movement ideas such as championing the use of the vernacular (*baihuawen*) in writing and participated in anti-Japanese protests. At the time of the local commemoration of the May Seventh Day of National Humiliation in 1923, Guisui students organised a boycott of all Japanese goods coming into Guisui by train and marched on Guisui's largest retailer of Japanese manufactured goods, the Shengji company store, and destroyed its stock and fittings.[102] In 1933 Suiyuan Middle School became the centre of a "*xuechao*" or "student tide" in which students acting in support of a local Yan Xishan-backed GMD faction forced the resignation of the head of the main rival GMD faction (which leant towards Chiang Kai-shek), Pan Xiuren, from his position as head of Suiyuan's Education Department.[103] Increasingly through the 1930s up to Suiyuan's eventual occupation in 1937 students were a vital element of patriotic protest and mobilisation in Suiyuan and the calls to save the province from the danger of Japanese encroachment.

Organised sport was another vital aspect of student life. Physical education was an important element in the modern curriculum taught in schools, and as a result Suiyuan First Middle School possessed the only sporting field in Guisui until the construction of the Suiyuan Public Sports Ground in 1933.[104] As early as 1922 a soccer

[101] Yang Lingde, *Sai shang yiwang –Yang Lingde huiyilu*, *NMWSZL*, no. 30, p. 69.

[102] May 7 1915 was the day on which the government of Yuan Shikai acquiesced to the majority of Japan's infamous "Twenty-One Demands" which compromised important areas of China's sovereignty.

[103] See Yang Lingde, *Sai shang yiwang*, pp. 75-76 for an account. Also reports in *SRB*, 6 and 30 August 1933, and the weekly put out in the name of Suiyuan Middle School in support of Pan Xiuren *Suiyuan xuechao*, no. 1 (1933), passim.

[104] Much of this section is based on Zhao Yundi, "Suiyuan tiyu wangshi huigu,"

competition existed between the various primary schools in Guisui and between 1924 and 1926 athletics, football, and basketball competitions became established as a regular part of Guisui student life. By 1931 Suiyuan had gained a semi-professional basketball team, *Suiguang* (Suiyuan Glory), made up of physical education teachers from Suiyuan Normal School. This team played other local teams such as the Railway team and had an avid following. Most importantly, student sport was one of the few arenas in which Suiyuan became represented alongside China's provinces on the national stage. From 1924 onwards individual students and teams from Guisui's middle schools traveled to compete in nationally organised sporting meetings. The most important of these was the North China Sports Meeting (*Huabei yundonghui*) held annually in various cities in Northern China and, beginning in 1930, the National Sports Meeting.[105] In these meetings Suiyuan students competed in track and field events, martial arts competitions, and football and basketball matches against students from other provinces in an atmosphere of provincial rivalry. A university student writing in the *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Association Study Journal* in early 1931 bemoaned the fate of the Suiyuan student teams in football and basketball in the North China competition—on the five occasions they had participated up to 1931 they had lost every game. Once again, it would seem, this was an indictment on Suiyuan's general second-rate nature compared with the provinces "Inside the Pass."[106]

Suiyuan's liuxuesheng

Roughly four per cent of Suiyuan's total educational budget for 1935 went towards the category "higher education," a small proportion which remained fairly constant from the 1920s into the 1930s.[107]

NMWSZL, no. 17, pp. 162-168 and *Suiyuan ribao* for the period to 1937.

[105] Suiyuan sent students to the fourth annual National Sports Meeting held in Hangzhou in 1930.

[106] Miao Shiyu, "Suiyuan tiyu zhi gaiguan," *SYPXX*, vol. 2, no. 4 (May 1931), pp. 101-102.

[107] The other categories: Middle level education (i.e. Middle, Normal, and Vocational Schooling), 21 per cent; Elementary education, 65 per cent; Public or Mass education, roughly 6 per cent; and Educational administration, slightly over 4 per cent. See "Suiyuan sheng minguo 23 nian jiaoyu gaikuang," *Zhongguo xin lun*, vol. 3, no. 3,

Principally these funds were spent on bursaries and assistance for Suiyuan's *liuxuesheng*—the middle-school graduates that had ascended to stratospheric heights within the local universe to study at universities and other higher-level educational institutions outside of Suiyuan. The majority attended various institutions in Beijing/Beiping and the local renown and influence of these students belies the relatively small amount of funding they collectively received. Indeed from the carefully tabulated lists of their names, their home county within Suiyuan, and their field of higher studies which appear proudly in several Suiyuan government publications throughout the pre-1937 period, it would seem that the production of *liuxuesheng* studying at prestigious universities in Beiping was a goal in itself to win glory for the backward region and second-rate province. By 1933, Suiyuan could even proudly claim ten graduates of foreign universities and a further nine currently enrolled in universities overseas.[108] By 1931, however, the Suiyuan provincial education department had imposed dedicated sub-quotas for different fields of study within the overall annual quota of 100 bursaries of 100 yuan each. The new province's precious but meagre flow of talent had to be shaped and directed in accordance with the provincial government's developmental priorities. And so agricultural science, sciences, engineering, and education were given much higher sub-quotas than commerce, politics, law, or arts.[109] In 1935 thirty Suiyuaners—the greatest number ever—graduated from Beiping's universities. However in this same year the new head of Suiyuan's education department, Yan Wei, questioned the continued provision of bursaries for Suiyuan's *liuxuesheng*, arguing that the government needed to cut its budget allocation for bursaries "to lighten the burden of the masses." Yan's plans incited an instant wave of protest from students and Suiyuan's educated elite.[110] And so, it seems, Suiyuan's educational future was precariously balanced. As one indignant student argued, Suiyuan's higher educational graduates when compared to the numbers of graduates of other provinces were "as rare as morning stars" and the level of assistance that the Suiyuan government provided was modest compared to other provinces: the

extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p 102.

[108] Among the graduates of foreign universities were Salaqi County's Qi Zhihou, and Tuoketuo's Yan Wei, both later became heads of the Suiyuan Provincial Education Department. See *Suiyuan gaikuang*, Section 11, pp. 15-16.

[109] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 53rd juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 781-782.

[110] An accusatory open letter was published in the *Suiyuan minguo ribao* in the name of "forty-seven gentry" in protest. See *SYPXX*, vol. 6, no. 4/5 (1935), p. 38.

removal of subsidies would spell the end of educational advancement in Suiyuan.[111]

The main representative body for Suiyuan students studying in Beiping was what became after 1928 the Society of Suiyuan Students in Beiping (*Suiyuan you Ping xuehui*). Established in 1919, this was probably the best organised and most powerful institution outside the province and at times it attempted to manage Suiyuan's presence on the national stage. It was closely tied with and used the facilities of the Suiyuan *huiguan*, or regional association in Beiping, and also received funds from the Suiyuan provincial government.[112] When the series of fourteen "letters" on the desperate social conditions in Suiyuan appeared in the *Dagong bao* in 1931 students banded together with the Suiyuan huiguan in Beiping to issue a protest to the newspaper and published detailed refutations of some of journalist's more lurid depictions of depravity and immorality in Suiyuan.[113]

Those university and college students that returned to Suiyuan after graduation moved into positions within local officialdom or local education. Putting aside the question of their direct contribution to rescuing Suiyuan from the mire of its backwardness, their greatest effect lay in other directions. By the 1930s they slowly began to form a new elite as they came to fill many important positions within the local government bureaucracy as section heads, heads of counties, principals and teachers at Guisui's schools, and took significant posts within the local GMD structure and within other local semi-governmental organisations.[114] Students and graduates of higher education were also some of the main producers of writing about Suiyuan.

Education, Writing, and Publishing in Suiyuan

The other far-reaching result of the educational enterprise in Suiyuan was the production of texts. Educational development in Suiyuan directly fostered local writing, journalism, publications, and reading,

[111] *SYPXX*, vol. 6, no. 4/5 (1935), p. 38.

[112] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," part 3, *Nei Menggu tushuguan gongzuo*, no 3 (1984), p. 31.

[113] *SYPXX*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1931), passim.

[114] See for example the detailed list of the present positions held by Suiyuan's university and college graduates as of 1934 in Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang*, section 11, pp. 16-30.

and the content of such writing contributed greatly to the enunciation, elaboration, and dissemination of ideas about Suiyuan.

The link between educational accomplishment and the production of writing about Suiyuan was in one sense obvious. The compilers of the various local gazetteers produced in the area in the late Qing were chosen or selected themselves to write because of their learning. This pattern continued with the various local gazetteers produced during the Republic. Most notably, when the provincial government established the Suiyuan Provincial Gazetteer Office in 1931 charged with the compilation of the provincial gazetteer, it appointed the nationally-recognised scholar Li Taifen (who had once served as the head of Suiyuan's education department for a brief period from the end of 1924 to April 1925) as chief editor. The locally-renowned scholars and teachers, Guo Xiangji and Rong Xiang, gained leading positions in this office as well.[115] Education in Suiyuan was also directly connected to local publishing from the start. The first headmaster of Guisui Middle School in the Republic, Wang Dingqi, was also the founder of Suiyuan's first newspaper, the short-lived *Guisui Daily* in 1913.[116] In the energetic year of 1925 during the brief Feng Yuxiang-dominated administration in Suiyuan, the SSAR's new education department—only established in the year before—became the first local governmental office to publish a journal, the *Suiyuan Educational Quarterly*. This went through several name changes and periods of non-publication to become a monthly publication, the *Suiyuan Educational Bulletin*, in 1931. Besides carrying reports on local education, accounts of debates on educational policy, and proclamations and rulings on education by the new department, the first issues of this journal contained more general survey material on Suiyuan's ancient ruins, the hygiene standards of "Suiyuan residents" [*Suiyuan junmin*], their religious beliefs, and marriage and funeral practices.[117] The Education Department was also the publisher of the *Suiyuan Monthly*, a local government journal which appeared through 1925 and which contained accounts of public affairs and pronouncements of the other departments of local government.

[115] Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi kaoshu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1998), p. 78. See also *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52[bu] juan, extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 175.

[116] *Guisui ribao* only ran for a period of months before it ceased publication. In 1914 Wang founded a new paper, *Yi bao*, which ran until Wang's assassination in January 1916. See Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan, 1987), pp. 166-167.

[117] *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1925), *diaocha* section, pp. 1-4.

Suiyuan's education department continued its role in official publications after the retreat of Feng Yuxiang and into the 1930s. The Education Department's Popular Education Institute (or, after 1933, the Mass Education Office) included within its many responsibilities the publication of printed materials, issuing and posting of "wall bulletins" (*bibao*) in Guisui, and the establishment and running of reading rooms in the provincial capital.[118] This office also became an occasional but important publisher of Suiyuan government publications. In 1929 it put out a newspaper, the *Suiyuan Popular Educational Daily*. Soon renamed the *Suiyuan Social Daily*, this became one of the three major daily newspapers in Suiyuan during the 1930s and continued to receive funds from the Education Department.[119] The editorial section of the same office under the energetic leadership of Fan Ku used its publishing expertise in the early 1930s to produce the first commercially available map of Suiyuan, as well as various maps depicting Japanese aggression in China, a newly written play on China's national humiliation, a compilation of Suiyuan folk songs, and, in 1934, the *General Survey of the Counties of Suiyuan Province*. This book was a comprehensive and major survey not only of all the counties and preparatory counties but also all of the Mongol banners in Suiyuan. This was "in order," Director Fan wrote in the preface to the *General Survey*, "to attract the attention of the nation and aid the self-strengthening of Suiyuaners. Our office has compiled this edition to be used as a reference by those with aspirations for the Northwestern enterprise."[120] At different times Suiyuan's education department also funded local periodicals. The *Fiery Pit Weekly* most probably received funding from the Education Department for the period during which the progressive Qi Zhihou headed the Department (1928 to 1930). Also, from 1932 onwards, the Suiyuan students in Beiping received assistance from the Education Department to put out their publication, the influential *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Society Journal*.[121]

Education also created the writers that published in local newspapers and periodicals. Taking a general overview of the variety

[118] Suiyuan sheng shehui jiaoyusuo (ed.), "Suiyuan sheng shehui jiaoyusuo yi lan," (1933) extracted in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 713.

[119] Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu*, p. 132.

[120] Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (ed.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao* (Guisui: 1934), Preface.

[121] Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu*, p. 24, 90.

of texts published about Suiyuan through the 1920s and 1930s, the most pungent, lively, passionate, enthusiastic, and committed writing about the province was almost invariably produced by students or former students in periodicals such as the occasional *Fiery Pit Weekly*, (1926-1932), edited by local journalist Yang Lingde, which carried political critiques and commentaries and local students' short stories and poetry and *Great Wall Quarterly* (1935-1937) which aimed to increase knowledge of politics and economics to "revive the Chinese nation" in the face of Japanese military aggression. In the previous chapter we canvassed the contribution of the local agricultural journal *Winter Garden* (1932-1935) to researching, shaping, and developing the debate on an agriculture suited to conditions in Suiyuan. The journal was a publication of the Suiyuan Agricultural Study Society, a society organised and run by Suiyuan students studying agricultural science at Beiping University.[122] The short-lived local literary journal *Yanran Fortnightly* of 1936 published translations and reviews of contemporary literature, and prose and poetry by local writers which (among other things) explored the bleak natural conditions and imagery of Suiyuan as a locale "outside the Passes" (*sai wai*), as in the following poem entitled "Under Pressure:"

> People say that the Spring wind outside the Passes is frightful and cruel
> It can blow the hard and solid tiles off a roof and break them
> Who can believe that the peach flower is actually at this time preparing to bud?
> Iron-like, layer upon layer, earth presses on earth
> The flying sand and stones accompany each other in a fearsome sound
> But in the end the wild grasses spring forth their green and tender shoots.[123]

By the early 1930s the periodical of the Suiyuan Students in Beiping Study Society, the *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Society Journal*, had become one of Suiyuan's central journals of opinion.[124] In its pages students explored the different facets of Suiyuan's politics and society, the province's place within Republican China and the Northwest, and the ambiguities of the Suiyuan identity. They championed Suiyuan in the face of the broader Republic, excoriated and praised local officials,

[122] The periodical began in 1932 as the *Suiyuan nongye xuehui huikan* and changed its name to *Hanpu* in the following year see Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu*, p. 37.

[123] "Yali zhi xia," *Yanran*, no. 3 (1936), p. 5.

[124] The periodical ran from 1919 to 1937. In late 1936, perhaps in recognition of its central importance to local elite discourse, it was renamed simply *Suiyuan*.

and researched and commented on conditions in Suiyuan. Through the 1930s the journal contained articles which extolled the virtues of pastoralism, analysed the reasons for the sufferings of the Northwest, called Suiyuan's people to practice austerity in the face of national threat, appealed to the local government "on behalf of two million elders and brothers in Suiyuan" or "three million Suiyuaners," exposed the activities of local corrupt officials, bemoaned the exploitation of Suiyuan by Yan Xishan's Shanxi, celebrated the achievements of graduating students from Suiyuan in the nation's elite universities, and reported on and devised solutions for the threatening growth of the Mongol Autonomy movement in Suiyuan.[125] In 1935 the journal published the findings of a local student studying linguistics at a Beiping university who enthusiastically announced the discovery of the Suiyuan accent and its relatively close correspondence to standard official *guoyu* in contrast to southern Chinese dialects. Suiyuaners in this instance were actually at an advantage compared to southern Chinese, claimed the writer. In a follow-up article the researcher declared the Suiyuan accent to be a part of the "Inner Northwestern system" of Chinese.[126]

Education in the pre-1937 period never successfully resolved Suiyuan's backwardness. Indeed, as we have seen, it could be—and was—used as yet another example of the problem. Nonetheless, education created a Suiyuan-focused intelligentsia which contributed crucially to the imaginative task of Suiyuan's construction within the Chinese Republic.

[125] See "Fandui Taiyuan suijing gongzhu zeng pai junfei xuanyan," *SYPXX*, vol. 4, no. 3/4 (1932), p. 2.

[126] Wen Duanhua, "Suiyuan yin yu Guo yin," *SYPXX*, vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1935), p. 49; "Zailun Suiyuan yin yu Guo yin," *SYPXX*, vol. 6, no. 4/5 (1935), p. 20.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUIYUAN AND THE CHALLENGE OF MONGOL SPACE

In a memoir written in later life, the veteran journalist Yang Lingde recalls his experience sitting an entrance examination for the first intake of Suiyuan Normal School in late 1922. Yang was seventeen at the time and, as was noted in the previous chapter, had arrived in Guisui from his native Tuoketuo County the year before to pursue middle school studies:

> The examination consisted of a question entitled "Concerning The Four Princelings of the Warring States" (*zhanguo si jun lun*), and some questions about the thirteen banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues. The first question was easy. While at Upper Level Primary school I had memorised many chapters of *Guwen shiyi* and I was pretty familiar with the *Dong Zhou lieguo zhi* so getting together an essay wasn't difficult. When it came to the questions about Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues, however, I handed in a blank sheet of paper. We had never studied anything about this in our Upper Level Primary geography text book. I only knew that there was a Tumed Banner yamen, and in the western Hetao there was a Juungar Banner. Only after coming to Guisui did I see a sign which read "Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu Leagues Federation Office." hanging somewhere, but I had never paid it any attention.[1]

Despite his lack of detailed knowledge about Suiyuan's geography, Yang eventually won a place in the first class at the new school.

The fact that the authorities at the new school had set such questions indicates that they viewed Suiyuan's claim to incorporate or represent Mongol territory as significant and important. Most obviously, although Mongols accounted for roughly ten per cent of the SSAR's population, the huge bulk of Suiyuan's territorial form derived from the combined banner territories of these two leagues.[2] Yang's

[1] Yang Lingde, *Sai shang yiwang*, *Yang Lingde huiyilu*, *NMWSZL*, no. 30, pp. 6-7.

[2] An accurate figure for population is hard to establish. Table 1 in Chapter One gives two estimates of Mongol population from the 1930s which range on either side of 200,000. Suiyuan's Han population in 1930 according to Suiyuan government figures, was probably under two million. This figure includes the populations of the five counties originally belonging to the Chahar Special Region that Suiyuan gained on its elevation to provincial status in 1929. The incorporation of these counties increased Suiyuan's total Han population by around 30 per cent. See *Suiyuan Ribao* (Hereafter abbreviated as *SRB*), 12 August 1932. Note: all references to *SRB* in this chapter are taken from page 3 of the relevant edition.

memory of the incident, however, is also significant. He could not have seen the sign for the Leagues' Federation at the time he recalls for, as we shall see, this organisation was only established in 1925. Nonetheless even this flaw in recollection, when taken together with his remembered ignorance of Mongol geography, bespeaks the ambiguity of the link between Suiyuan and its Mongol space as perceived by Han Suiyuaners at the time. Before the 1930s and the emergence of the Mongol autonomy movement, the establishment of the Federation in 1925 was one obvious moment when Suiyuan could be seen as asserting a claim to represent the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues.

In one sense the issue of Suiyuan's relationship to Mongol space was clear cut. As we shall see, the banners remained separately administered by the central government in the Republic much as they did in the Qing. The SSAR Military Governor had no direct administrative claim to interfere in banner affairs. And yet the establishment of the SSAR in 1914 and the explicit drawing of the leagues within its territorial boundaries implied a subsuming relationship between Suiyuan and Mongol banner space. Moreover, the chain of command between the Beijing government and the banners quickly became attenuated because of warlordism. This leads us to ask what was the nature of the link between Suiyuan and Mongol space in the period before provincial elevation? And how was the Mongol presence dealt with and represented by those concerned with the construction of Suiyuan?

Suiyuan got off to a shaky start. It was born in the early years of the Republic immediately following a period of heightened Mongol political activity which resulted in the establishment of an independent Mongolian state in Outer, or Khalkha, Mongolia. Moreover, viewed from the perspective of Inner Mongol polities, Suiyuan gained its institutional and ideological bulk during a period of relative hiatus in Mongol political assertiveness. This chapter examines different aspects of how Suiyuan's advocates and power holders both responded to and ignored the challenges of Mongol space in the period up to the early 1930s.

Post-Qing Inner Mongolia

What did the concept of Mongolia mean as it entered the post-imperial period? As we have surveyed in detail in Chapter One, in the minds of Mongols and the chief Mongol political actors at the time, the nobles and banner princes, Mongolia could be described ethnographically as a distinct "country" (Mongolian: *ulus*) distinguished from the Chinese section of the empire by a separate language, script, customs, dress, and mode of production. Most importantly, bound together with these elements of Mongolness were various unique institutions that had been heavily modified or regularised by the Qing state including the system of Mongol banners and leagues, the Lamaist Buddhist church and the Chinggisid aristocracy. However much the Qing state had shaped and manipulated these institutions for its own purposes, they had become just as integral to Mongol identity and the concept of Mongolia at the end of the Qing empire as the ethnographic descriptors.[3] In particular, the implications of Mongol territoriality, centred on the special status of leagues and banners which Mongols carried into the post-Qing period, remained unclear and confusing to Chinese Republican politicians and officials. Clearly the system of leagues and banners was an important part of what constituted the Mongols in a collective sense and a notion of a special, or separate, territoriality adhered to it. The issue was clouded even further, however, by the surrounding political context. Two series of events ran in counterpoint: the establishment of the Chinese Republic and the creation of an independent Mongolia. Mongols of Inner Mongolia faced a choice between two possible territorial futures in the post-imperial vacuum.

Incorporation into the Republic of Five Nations (wu zu gongheguo)

On the one hand was the unfolding and institutionalising of the Chinese Republic and Republican politics and ideology. This began with a period of political maneuvering and contestation between the

[3] Christopher P. Atwood, "National Questions and National Answers in the Chinese Revolution Or, How Do You Say Minzu in Mongolian?" *Indiana University Working Papers on Language and Politics in Modern China*, Winter 1994, http://www.indiana.edy/~easc/pages/easc/working_papers/framed_5b.htm, accessed 10 October 1997. See also his *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931* 2 vols. (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 37-42 for a discussion of changing ideas about Mongolia and Mongolness in the late Qing and early Republic.

more radical Southern revolutionaries under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and the conservatives based in the north of China and headed by the former Qing official Yuan Shikai. After negotiations Yuan won out and ascended to the provisional presidency of the new Republic in April 1912.[4] Through 1912 and 1913 the initial policies, parliament, and administration of the new Republican order were created.

Two opposing tendencies can be discerned in early Republican Chinese attitudes towards the incorporation of Mongol space. The first was a modernising tendency which emphasised the Republic's radical break with the "autocracy of the past" and the equality of the five recognised nations of the old empire–Han, Mongol, Tibetan, Manchu and Hui—within the unity of the new Republic. The older institutions of this past should, it followed, be cast aside.[5] The implications of this were multi-faceted. Although this was never systematically espoused, it entailed such ideas as the provincialisation of Mongol space. In such a way, Southern revolutionary delegates at a conference in Shanghai in mid-December 1911 suggested that Mongolia be given provincial status. Speakers called for the same in debates in the Provisional National Council in May 1912.[6] Another important modernising theme emphasised Mongol inferiority and decline. An article in the *Northwestern Magazine* in December 1912 typically argued the case using the language of race and contemporary western anthropology:

> Mongols are essentially a Totem society (*tuteng shehui*) and have no group thinking (*tuanti sixiang*). They don't till the soil but wantonly nomadise, selecting water and grass and dwelling here and there [like birds]. Laziness has become a character trait... Moreover they superstitiously follow the Yellow Teaching [i.e. Tibetan Buddhism] and [as a result] don't seek development in this world, but instead pursue happiness in the next life. They neglect improving human affairs and instead place their faith in the secret protection of heaven. Their race is declining in numbers and the [Mongol character] has become like rotten wood and dead ashes—without vitality and ambition.[7]

[4] Yuan was sworn in as the first official president of the Chinese Republic in October 1913.

[5] See for example the telegram on behalf of the Nanjing provisional government to Mongol princes in Beijing in *Shengjing shibao*, 7 February 1912, p. 7.

[6] Sechin Jagchid, "The Inner Mongolian Response to the Chinese Republic 1911-1917," in Henry G. Schwarz (ed.), *Studies on Mongolia: Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Mongol Studies* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1979), p 103; *Zhengfu gongbao*, 12 May 1912, p. 19.

[7] "Menggu kenzhi yimin lun," *Xibei zazhi*, no. 2 (December 1912), *lunshuo* section, p. 31. The concept of Totem society was based on the ideas of the 19th-century American anthropologist Lewis Morgan. The English ethnologist E. Jenks used the

Moreover, such an enervated "race" dwelling in the borderlands with Russia made these borderlands insecure. The solution lay in attracting Han settlers to Mongol areas to interbreed with Mongols. Mongol lands could then be developed, Mongols would be transformed with modern education, and the borderlands of the new Republic would become strong. Much the same arguments had been rehearsed in the last decade of the old empire and would continue to be voiced into the 1930s.[8]

Administratively, the modernist impulse was to abolish the old imperial Ministry of Colonial Affairs (*Lifanbu*) and place Mongol affairs under the auspices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the new Republican government, the *Neiwubu*. This not only represented the newly equal place of Mongols alongside the other four great nations within the new republic, but it also proclaimed strongly to the world a clear and modern form of Chinese territoriality in border areas. Advocates argued that Mongol affairs should come under the *Neiwubu* in order to proclaim and protectively assert modern Chinese sovereignty using the clear symbolism and language of the world system of nation-states, particularly in the face of Japanese and Russian threats to the territory of the new Republic.[9]

By contrast the conservative approach, although no less encompassing of Mongol space, recognised the symbolic and functional value of the imperial institutions attached to Mongols and favoured the retention of the old Mongolia with these institutions intact. From this perspective such things as the *nianban* system of regulated imperial audiences with the Qing Emperor for Mongol nobles could be preserved in a suitably renovated format in the new Republic, with the nobles now journeying from their banners to Beijing at regular intervals for audiences with the President of the Chinese Republic. Conservatives also favoured retention and continued government control of the system of Mongol noble titles, the

concept in his book *History of Politics* which, in turn, Yan Fu translated into Chinese in 1903 as *Shehui tong quan*. In the preface to this work Yan Fu describes totem society as the earliest stage in the evolution of humankind. See Wang Jianmin, *Zhongguo minzuxue shi*, part 1, 1903-1949 (Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 75, 79-81.

[8] See for example the Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation report of 1932, which argues that Mongols must be gradually converted from their nomadic pastoralist lifestyle to the more progressive economic mode of agriculture in order to properly develop Suiyuan's potential. See Suiyuan kenwu zongju (ed.), *Suiyuan kenwu jihua*, 2 vols. (Guisui, 1932), vol. 2, p. 3.

[9] See telegram in *Shengjing shibao*, 7 Feburary 1912, p. 7.

Lamaist Buddhist Church and its hierarchy of administration, and Mongol leagues and banners much as these institutions had been controlled under the old empire.[10]

Whatever the perspective, negotiating Mongolia's form within the Republic was fraught with complexity. Although ultimately a practitioner of the conservative approach, in the same month as his inauguration as provisional President Yuan Shikai issued the following decree imbued with a modernist understanding of the question:

> Now that there is a Republic of Five Nations, all Mongol, Tibetan and Hui border areas are the same as the territory of our Chinese Republic. And therefore the Mongol, Tibetan and Hui frontier nations are the same as citizens of our Chinese Republic. They can no longer bear the colonial names as in the past imperial times... The Republican government has not established a special department for dependencies and from the start has looked upon Mongolia, Tibet and the Hui borders as equal to the provinces of China Proper. In the future all politics of each of these places will be completely within the purview of interior administration. A unified government has already been established. As regards the affairs of *Lifanbu* let the *Neiwubu* take over immediately.[11]

In such a manner, it seems, the Qing system of differentiated territoriality and a separate administration of frontier areas could be unproblematically resolved by abolishing it and replacing it with a new, modernised arrangement more suitable to the newly declared unity of the five nations of the new Republic. Nevertheless, even in the eyes of the enthusiastic republicans of the Provisional National Council (*Linshi canyiyuan*) which commenced to sit in Beijing at around this time, this solution posed problems.[12] Not only did Yuan's proposal to create a "deputy departmental head" (*ci zhang*) within the *Neiwubu* to handle Mongolian and Tibetan affairs not conform to established bureaucratic practice, even for the most confirmed assimilationist there

[10] On the retention of a modified form of regular audiences see "Neiwubu chengming Meng Hui deng chu nianban ni liang jia biantong reng ling fenqi lai ye bi de baogao qingxing huishang yaozheng deng qing wen" (7 June 1912), in *Xibei zazhi*, vol. 1, no. 1, *wendu* section, pp. 10-11. Ulanshaobu notes the preservation of Qing institutions continued into the 1930s with the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission. See Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo guomindang de dui Meng zhengce 1928-1949," in *Nei Menggu jindai shi luncong*, no. 3, p. 206.

[11] The proclamation dated 22 April 1912 appears in *Xibei zazhi*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1912), *mingling* section, p. 3.

[12] The Provisional National Council convened in Nanjing on 28 January 1912, moved to Beijing in late April of the same year, and sat in expanded form until early April 1913. Its chief task was to frame the Provisional Constitution. See *Minguo renwu da cidian* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991), p. 1688 for a list of delegates.

were serious problems with territorial equivalence. "Mongolia and Tibet differ from Internal Territory [*nei di*] in geography and customs," one speaker reminded the chamber in May 1912.[13] Most obviously, although it was clear that these borderlands comprised fully two-thirds of the nation's territory, their low level of economic and cultural development made them unequal to "Internal Territory."[14] This fundamental problem could not be elided by throwing the border regions under the same administration as the provinces of China. Most speakers agreed that the border regions required a "special administrative office" (*teshu jiguan*) to oversee their specific problems. Another speaker cautioned that such an office should be "different from the [former] *Lifanbu*. In the past period of autocratic rule (*zhuanzhi shidai*) there was the problem of dependent status (*fanshu*): now we must plan for the prosperity of Mongol, Tibetan and Hui compatriots" The proposed special office was to concentrate on "the development of all enterprises" in border areas.[15] In the end, after an initial brief period of *Neiwubu* governance of frontier affairs, in July 1912 Yuan returned to imperial practice and created a special Bureau of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs (*Meng Zang shiwuju*) directly under the President. In May 1914 this became the Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs (*Meng Zang shiwuyuan*) and it remained in this form until 1928 when the new Nanjing government's Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission (*Meng Zang shiwu weiyuanhui*) took over its tasks.[16]

The Mongol political elite—that is the nobility and banner princes—also eyed the implications of the new equality and new citizenship within the Republic of Five Nations with suspicion. A common perception on the part of Inner Mongol banner princes was that the new Republican regime was hostile to their hereditary privileges, anti-Buddhist, and bent on eliminating the traditional Mongol pastoral livelihood.[17] In response Yuan Shikai issued the *Mongol Treatment Provisions* (*Menggu daili tiaoli*) in August 1912.

[13] *Zhengfu gongbao*, 12 May 1912, p. 19.
[14] *Zhengfu gongbao*, 12 May 1912, p. 18.
[15] *Zhengfu gongbao*, 12 May 1912, p. 19
[16] The *Neiwubu* supervised Mongolian-Tibetan affairs from early April to late July 1912. During the last two months of this period the bureaucracy was formally known as the Office of Mongolian Tibetan Affairs (*Meng Zang shiwu chu*) and fell under the fourth section of the *Neiwubu*. See Wang Desheng, "Beiyang junfa dui Meng zhengce jige wenti de chuxi," *Nei Menggu jindai shi luncong*, no. 3, p. 52.
[17] See Jagchid, "The Inner Mongolian Response," p. 103, also the report in *North China Herald*, 30 November, 1912, p. 600.

These spelled out what Mongols could expect from the new Republic. The new government in Beijing would embrace the existing system of Mongol local administration (banners and leagues), and would maintain the titles and hereditary privileges of the Mongol nobility, incarnate Buddhas, and lamas. The only acknowledgment of the changed circumstances came in the first article:

> Herewith each Mongolia will not be treated as dependent but exactly the same as internal territory. The central government will not use such terms as "dependent" [*lifan*], "colonial" [*zhimin*], or "to colonise" [*tuozhi*] in regard to Mongol administrative offices.[18]

Apart from this proviso on terminology, Yuan had in effect imported, more or less in its totality, the administration of Mongolia of the late Qing into the Republic in a calculated move to placate and gain the support of Inner Mongol princes. Conservatism had won out. Mongols could only be absorbed with their institutions intact. Yet even this could still be misunderstood. The Republic's first Suiyuan Town General, Zhang Shaozeng, telegraphed the President in November 1912 with the news that banner princes of Ulaanchab League still suspected the new Republic of planning to destroy the old system. Indeed the princes were even suspicious about exactly what the abrogation of dependent status meant. Its loss, they feared, would result in "the mixing and breakdown of the Mongol race" (*hunluan Meng ren zhongzu*); and equality and the unity of the Republic of Five Nations smacked of a miscegenation which would dilute Mongol blood.[19] The term *fanshu*—colonial or dependent—in imperial Qing and conservative Mongol understandings was not necessarily the thing of horror that Chinese republicans railed against. Yuan responded by ordering that the provisions be translated into Mongolian and issued to all banners. Unlike some, Yuan as a former high-ranking Qing official had an instinctive understanding of the significance of the old Mongol institutions and favoured their preservation within the Republic.

The question of Mongol space's relation to China Proper came up in other guises in deliberations of the Provisional National Council. How was the Republic constituted at base—ethnographically as five nations, or territorially as 18 provinces or 26 provinces and regions? The question of the terms of Mongol incorporation became an issue in

[18] This is the first article of the provisions see *Dongfang zazhi*, 9th juan, No. 4, p. 19.
[19] "Linshi da zongtong ling," (23 November 1912) in *Xibei zazhi*, no. 2 (December 1912), *faling* section, p. 4.

the debate over the proper flag for the new Republic. Should it be the five-coloured flag of the Republic's five nations or the revolutionary flag of 18 stars with each star representing a province? If the revolutionary flag was used, then how could the non-province of Mongolia be represented? And indeed maybe a 26-star flag was what was required.[20] In the context of the division of the new Republic into a series of electoral districts, Yuan pushed for the creation of a Western Mongolia (*Xi Menggu*) to comprise Qinghai (or Kokonor), the Mongol areas of Xinjiang, and Kobdo and Uliasutai. This elicited much debate on the meaning of Mongolian territory and its many divisions. One National Council member pointed out that Yuan was introducing a neologism. The term "Western Mongolia" derived from European geography books and was not part of established nomenclature; moreover, it didn't form a continuous stretch of territory.[21] The complex particularistic and non-continuous conception of Mongol territory at the heart of Qing imperial understandings would not be easily absorbed into the modernism of the new Republic, and in the end the old system was preserved. This was confirmed in January 1915 when the Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs drafted the more comprehensive "Memorandum on the Control of Mongolia" (*yu Meng shuotie*).[22]

Mongolian Independence: yeke Monggol ulus

Roughly parallel to developments in China—and indeed, from the Chinese perspective, adding a sense of urgency to the incorporation question—ran the course of events in Outer Mongolia. This began with the expulsion of Qing officials from the Khalhka Mongolian administrative centre of Urga or Khuriye[23] in November 1911 and the

[20] *Zhengfu gongbao*, May 14 1912, p. 15.

[21] *Zhengfu gongbao*, May 22 1912, p. 11.

[22] "Da zongtong jiaoyi yu Meng banfa shuotie, zhengzhi taolunhui ji ben yuan xianhou yi fu ji tongzi ge bianjiang tuijin Meng Han qingyi youguan wenshu." Nanjing National No. 2 Archives, file no. 1045-130. Quoted at length in Wang Desheng, "Beiyang junfa dui Meng zhengce," pp. 44-45.

[23] Urga was the Russian name for this important settlement which was the residence of the Jetsundamba Khutugtu and the Qing administrative centre for Khalkha Mongolia. It was referred to in Mongolian in various forms involving the word Khuriye or "encampment" and in Chinese as Kulun. From 1911 to 1924 the settlement's Mongolian name was Neislel Khuriye; after the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1925 this was changed to Ulaanbaatar. See C.W. Campbell, *Travels in Mongolia 1902: A Journal by C.W. Campbell, the British Consul in China* (London: The Stationery Office, 2000), p. 92; and Christopher P. Atwood, "Inner Mongolian Nationalism in the 1920s: A Survey of Documentary Information," *Twentieth-Century China*, vol. XXV, No. 2 (April 2000), p. 88.

declaration of independence by Outer Mongol nobles on December 1, 1911. By the end of December the nobles had installed the highest-ranking incarnated lama in Mongolia, the Jetsundamba Khutugtu as the *Bogdo Khan* (Holy Emperor) of Mongolia and he was appealing to the leagues and banners of Inner Mongolia to join the new Mongolia.[24] The Bogdo Khan's government signed a treaty with Russia in winter 1912 and Outer Mongol troops entered Inner Mongolia's Ulaanchab and Shilin-gol leagues and fought against Chinese forces in late 1912 and through 1913. This alternative Mongolian version of political community, although centered on Khuriye, was based on the idea of restoration of the sovereignty of a unified greater Mongolia (M. *yeke Monggol ulus*) including not just Khalkha Mongolia but all Mongolian regions. Religion was also extremely important. The new polity was seen as not just the restoration of a unified Mongolia but also the establishment of a Buddhist theocracy and a haven for Lamaist Buddhism. The Jetsumdamba's Tibetan origins reinforced the continuing importance of Lamaist or Yellow Hat Buddhism to Mongol polities and to the expression of Mongol political community in the post-Qing world.[25]

Initially, according to one source, 35 of the 49 banners of Inner Mongolia submitted memorials declaring support for the Bogdo Khan's government. Among them were five of Ulaanchab League's six banners and five of Yeke-juu's seven banners.[26] What this meant in actual fact is another question. As Paul Hyer has argued, although the Barga or Hulunbuir area of northeastern Inner Mongolia declared independence and joined with the new government in Khuriye, the response of Inner Mongol princes and clerics was ambivalent and complex and tempered by the realities of geography and traditional

[24] This section is based upon Nakami Tatsuo, "A Protest Against the Concept of the 'Middle Kingdom:' The Mongols and the 1911 Revolution," in Etō Shinkichi and Harold Z. Schiffrin (eds.), *The 1911 Revolution in China: Interpretive Essays* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1984), pp. 129-149.

[25] Nakami Tatsuo, "A Protest Against the Concept of the 'Middle Kingdom:'" p 136. Hyer makes the point about the religious dimensions in Paul Hyer, "The Role of Inner Mongolia in the Independence Movement, 1911-1914," in Henry G. Schwarz (ed.), *Studies on Mongolia: Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Mongol Studies* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1979), p. 88.

[26] Sh. Sandag, *Mongolyn uls töriin gadaad khariltsaa 1850-1919*, 1, pp. 302-03, quoted in Robert B. Valliant, "Inner Mongolia, 1912: the Failure of Independence," *Mongolian Studies*, no. 4, 1977, p. 69.

regionalism and alignments.[27] Moreover changing political and economic imperatives and the involvement of Russia, the new Chinese Republic, and Japan shaped and limited the possibilities for action on both sides of the Gobi.

Even in its last days, the Qing empire remained the best political alternative in the eyes of some Mongol nobles. In December 1911, Inner Mongol princes based in Beijing and closely associated with the Manchu royal clan and imperial palace politics voted against supporting Mongol independence and resolved instead to concentrate their political efforts on saving the Qing empire and urging the Qing emperor not to resign.[28] This then developed into a debate about the merits of Mongol independence versus constitutional monarchy. The Chinese Republic over which conservatives and radical Chinese republicans were bargaining, however, was unacceptable. "In the case of a referendum," ran a Beijing newspaper report on the latest statements of Mongol princes in January 1912:

> If the majority decide upon a monarchy, then Mongol princes should recognise the whole of Mongolia as a perpetual dependency of China. If the votes in favour of democracy win out, [however], then Mongolia will immediately break ties with China, and from then on Mongolia will have no involvement in China's affairs and all Mongol princes will immediately leave Beijing.[29]

Yuan was of course able to use such examples of Mongol disaffection to his advantage in negotiations occurring at this time with the more radical Southern revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen.[30]

The fluidity of the situation in Mongolia continued through the early months of Yuan's presidency. Finally, however, the Russo-Mongolian Treaty signed in Khuriye on November 3 1912 acted as the demarcation point. The Russians refused to support the Bogdo Khan's government's attempts to win Inner Mongolia over to the new Mongol state. From this point on, in spite of Outer Mongol incursions into Inner Mongolia, the chances of Inner Mongolia joining with the newly independent Khuriye regime steadily receded.[31]

[27] Hyer, "The Role of Inner Mongolia," p. 89. Strictly speaking, like Chahar, Hulunbuir was administered separately from the banners of Inner Mongolia under the Qing.
[28] Valliant, "Inner Mongolia, 1912," pp. 58-59.
[29] *Shengjing shibao*, 24 January 1912, p. 4.
[30] Guo Tingyi, *Jindai Zhongguo shigang*, vols 1 and 2 combined edition (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989), p. 406.
[31] Jagchid, "The Inner Mongolian Response," p. 108.

The Western Leagues and Independence

In southwestern Mongolia the princes of Ulaanchab League under the League Chairman, Prince Lhawangnorbu, leant towards joining the new Khuriye authorities.[32] As has been noted they voiced their mistrust of the new Chinese Republic in late 1912. Elites in Yeke-juu League and Chahar and the Guihua Town Tumed Banner were less attracted to Khuriye though this did not necessarily mean attraction to the new Chinese Republic.[33] Ulaanchab League was the setting for prolonged and large scale military conflict between troops from Outer Mongolia and large numbers of Chinese troops from December 1912 until the end of 1913. The entry of Khalkha Mongol troops into Ulaanchab led to the rapid movement of Yan Xishan's forces from northern Shanxi to bases in Baotou, Guisui, and Wuyuan and their joining together with local soldiers in a series of battles against the Outer Mongols. Zhang Shaozeng had arrived two months earlier to take up his post as Suiyuan Town General and he quickly took command of "Mongol subjugation" (*zheng Meng*). According to the *Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer*'s summary of files during 1913:

> The Mongol bandits [i.e. the Khalkha troops] launched a major push southwards and began an all-out assault. They came along three routes. The western route attacked the Hetao. The middle route, heavily reinforced, followed the main road between Sui[yuan town] and Ku[lun i.e. Kuriye] and entered into the territory of Inner Mongolia's Darkhan Banner and made [the strategic temple complex of] Bailingmiao [Beile-yin sume] their base. The eastern route attacked Banjiang and western Sunid Banner [i.e. in Shilin-gol League]... Our army divided its troops to respond, but suffered successive defeats.[34]

Another account notes the strong points of the Khalkha Mongol forces: their horsemanship, extreme mobility, and their mastery of guerrilla tactics on the open steppe. By contrast Shanxi soldiers found the conditions difficult and tactically foreign, and were routed in several engagements in early to mid-1913.[35] In July 1913, however, after a desperate battle and the use of machine guns and artillery, Shanxi forces occupied Beile-yin sume and forced the Outer Mongols to retreat. During this period Shanxi troops also forced Khalkha Mongol

[32] Jagchid, "The Inner Mongolian Response," p. 105.
[33] Hyer, "The Role of Inner Mongolia," p. 90.
[34] *STZG* manuscript, 59th juan, 57th page. Bailingmiao was the Chinese name for the temple complex referred to as Beile-yin sume in Mongolian. See the beginning of the following chapter for more details.
[35] *STZG* manuscript, 59th juan , 59th page.

soldiers in the Hetao, as well as those in the east, into retreat. As late as November 1913, however, Khalkha troops again ventured into Ulaanchab and forced the small detachment of Chinese soldiers stationed in the temple complex to withdraw. This time, however, the Outer Mongol forces were quickly dislodged and repelled.[36]

Late 1912 to early 1913 was a crucial time for Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues—and for Suiyuan's future. After a period of about a year of post-imperial hiatus and administrative flux, a representative of the new Republic, General Zhang Shaozeng, arrived to decisively claim the area for the Republic. Besides dealing with the Outer Mongol forces, Zhang was under instructions from Yuan Shikai to secure the assent and compliance to the Republic of the princes of these two leagues. Zhang proposed a conference of all banner princes to be held in Guisui; however, the jasagh princes either ignored or refused his initial invitation to attend. The General then secretly dispatched a brigade of soldiers through the winter snow to the residence of the chairman of Ulaanchab League, Prince Lhawangnorbu, in Dorben Keukhed Banner to forcefully escort the prince to Guisui. A similar escort compelled the head of Yeke-juu League, Prince Arbinbayer, to come to Guisui—and both league chairmen then summoned the banner princes of their respective leagues to the conference. The western leagues' conference finally convened in Guisui in January 1913 and, according to one account, the conference concluded with the princes pledging

> to support the Republic, to fly the national flag, to select members for the [Republican] parliament, to obey the orders of the President, and to follow the directives of the Suiyuan General; to reject the Russo-Mongolian treaty; to persuade Kulun [i.e. Khuriye] to revoke its declaration of independence; to request [Republican] military protection of strategic locations in the western leagues; to prepare and plan for the livelihood of Mongol people; and to promote Mongol education.[37]

[36] *STZG* manuscript, 59th juan , 59th page., Zhou Jingxi (ed.), *Suiyuan Hetao zhiyao* (No publication details, 1924), p. 72 provides some details on the Khalkha army's activities in the Houtao during 1913. According to one source, the Tumed Banner Mongol Yu Lu, led a cavalry brigade in the service of the Bogdo Khan government in a confrontation with Chinese troops around Beile-yin sume, resulting in considerable damage to the area. Yu was later co-opted by the Republic. Beile-yin sume, as we shall see more fully in the next chapter became the centre for the Mongol Autonomy movement's Mongolian Political Council of the mid-1930s.

[37] "Xi meng huiyi Minguo yuan er nian biji," in Chen Yujia (ed.), *Sui Meng jiyao* (No publication details, 1936), pp. 164-180.

The princes then sent a series of telegrams to the Khuriye authorities arguing for the rejection of both independence and Russian assistance and expressing the logic of the new Republic of which they now found themselves a part:

> The Mongol border lands in the past were like lips to the teeth of the Chinese hinterland (*Zhongguo lindi*). Over many hundreds of years, Han and Mongol became as one family. In last year's revolution [i.e. the Chinese Republican revolution], however, the provinces of the interior all declared independence... Now North and South are calm and the provinces have all revoked their declarations of independence. We Mongols are part of the same system as the Chinese nation (*zhonghua minzu*). We should all exert ourselves as one...[38]

By implication, then, the Mongol declaration of independence was equivalent to the rash of Chinese provincial declarations of independence which followed the Chinese revolutionary uprising against the Qing in 1911, and Mongol space was the same as Chinese provincial space. Now that the new Republic had stabilised, Mongols could reattach their territory just as the Chinese provinces had done. Finally the princes of the western leagues sent telegrams "to the President in Beijing, the Parliament, the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Office, [and] the heads of each province" declaring their rejection of the Russo-Mongolian Treaty.[39] In return the Beijing government promoted each of the compliant princes a level in the system of aristocratic titles inherited from the former empire. The only prince not promoted, according to a record of the conference, was the jasagh of Yeke-juu's Uushin Banner, who resisted the pressure from General Zhang and had not attended the conference.[40]

Such a comprehensive display of acquiescence was clearly scripted by Zhang Shaozeng and his officials. It is unclear just what the Mongol princes at the conference demanded of Zhang in return. A similar conference was held in late October 1912 in Changchun for princes of the eastern Inner Mongolian banners. Varying accounts of the outcome of this conference exist but clearly Mongol princes demanded more than just promotions in return for support. A central issue, it seems, was Chinese encroachment into Mongol lands.[41]

[38] "Xi meng huiyi Minguo yuan er nian biji," pp. 181-182.

[39] "Xi meng huiyi Minguo yuan er nian biji," p. 184.

[40] "Xi meng huiyi Minguo yuan er nian biji," pp. 186-187.

[41] Valliant quotes from three different sources published after the Changchun conference and concludes that they are irreconcilable. See Valliant, "Inner Mongolia 1912," pp. 81-84.

Yuan's co-option of Inner Mongol princely elites by a mixture of threat and reward and a more organised Chinese military response to the Outer Mongolian offensives in Inner Mongolia saw the immediate possibility of an alternative path for Inner Mongolia outside of the Chinese Republic recede. The position of the Bogdo Khan's government in relation to China also weakened progressively through the remainder of the decade. By 1915 Yuan's government had negotiated a claim to suzerainty in Khalkha Mongolia in the Russian-Mongolian-Chinese Tripartite Agreement signed in Khiakta in early June. Outer Mongolian independence had been reduced to autonomy. By 1919 the Beijing warlord government of Duan Qirui had successfully sent an army to Khuriye and gained the abolition of Outer Mongolia autonomy. Two years later however, Khalkha Mongolia finally slipped from the Chinese grasp with the revolution of March 1921 and the second declaration of Mongolian independence. The death of the Jetsundamba in 1924, the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1925, and the new regime's vigorous persecution of religion saw the final end of the possibility of Inner Mongol princes joining with Outer Mongolia.

By this stage a new generation and new type of Mongol nationalist had emerged in scattered pockets throughout Inner Mongolia. Many of this generation gained their ideas at modern-style schools. Indeed, as we shall see, the school system in Guisui contributed to the involvement of the post-1900 generation of young Tumed Mongols in communist and revolutionary agendas of the 1920s. In a period of heightened revolutionary activity in both China and in Khalkha Mongolia, and facilitated by the organisation of the Comintern, this younger generation of Inner Mongol nationalists enthusiastically espoused the cause of pan-Mongolism and the unification of Inner Mongolia with the Mongolian People's Republic.[42]

Suiyuan And Mongol Territory

Challenged by the growing assertiveness of the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement in the mid-1930s, champions of Suiyuan would point to the western leagues' conference of early 1913 as the foundational event which confirmed the territory of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues as belonging within the territorial form of Suiyuan. Via the offices of Zhang Shaozeng, it would be argued, the two leagues came together in an unprecedented manner. "Although each league was under the leadership of the Suiyuan Town General, still, each administered itself separately and there was no opportunity to gather together."[43] Zhang's conference had achieved two things. It reinforced the idea of these leagues as belonging together and it secured the leagues' recognition of his power. Although Suiyuan was yet to be created, by bringing the leagues together and securing the assent of their thirteen banners to the Republic the western leagues' conference had given the future Suiyuan its territorial form and, by implication, its legitimacy.[44] This was, of course, a later interpretation of the significance of the event, made with the aim of subverting the claims of Prince Demchugdongrub's Mongolian Political Council to represent the banners, and reasserting the priority of Suiyuan's ordering of this space. In the earlier period, before the organised challenge of the Mongol autonomy movement, there was less need to clearly account for the basis of Suiyuan's incorporation of Mongol space.

Up to 1928, in theory, the banners of Inner Mongolia remained much as they were during the late Qing, as political entities under hereditary rulers organised and administered separately by a central government bureaucracy, the Beijing government's poorly-funded Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs. The precedents set under Yigu in the late Qing for local Suiyuan authority became part of the power for successive military governors of the new SSAR—itself, in theory, directly under the rule of the central government in Beijing. Suiyuan's territoriality and its claim to Mongol banner lands therefore remained shadowy and ill-defined, and took root and grew in the environment of warlordism and the ever-changing and unpredictable shifts in political power in Beijing and north China during the 1910s and 1920s. In this situation the complicated relationship between Mongol space and Suiyuan space had to be negotiated. The remainder of this chapter examines different expressions of and approaches to this problem.

[42] Atwood, "Inner Mongolian Nationalism in the 1920s," pp. 82, 83, 100. Also see his *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931* 2 vols. (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2002) for an exhaustive account of the different regional and ideological groupings among these revolutionaries. Atwood also points out the non-modernising political response of Inner Mongol vigilantes particularly in the Ordos.

[43] Chen Yujia, *Sui Meng jiyao*, p. 162.
[44] Chen Yujia, *Sui Meng jiyao*, p. 162.

Describing Suiyuan's Geography

The *Historical Records of Suiyuan* begins its discussion of the territory and boundaries of the SSAR by using the three Mongol territories as the basic geographical building blocks of the Region. Over this geography the network of Chinese county jurisdictions is stretched:

> Suiyuan's territory falls into three main sections: the Tumed section, the Ulaanchab section and the Yeke-juu section. Externally, the [Gobi] desert [*hanhai*] and the Great Wall form rough boundaries; the Daqing mountains and the Yellow River serve as internal lines of delineation. Lying south of the Daqing mountains and northeast of the Yellow River the Tumed section occupies Suiyuan's eastern territory. This is divided jurisdictionally between the five counties of Guisui, Salaqi, Qingshuihe, Tuoketuo, and Helin'ge'er. Running north to the desert and south to the Daqing mountains the Ulaanchab section occupies Suiyuan's northern territory. This is incompletely divided jurisdictionally between Wuchuan and Wuyuan counties. [Finally] north of the Great Wall and with three sides defined by the River is the Yeke-juu section. This occupies Suiyuan's southwestern territory, and is under the jurisdictions of Wuyuan, Tuoketuo and Salaqi counties plus Dongsheng County. [These administrations] also cover the area incompletely.[45]

Clearly Suiyuan could not be comprehended without reference to the larger Mongol components of geography. However, the *Historical Records* orients its discussion of territory around the primacy of county jurisdictional space. The detailed examination of each county's territory and boundaries precedes the gazetteer's account of the territory of each of the banners of the two leagues and Tumed Banner. Likewise, the evolution of the historical geography of Suiyuan is given in the context of the discussion of each county's territory. Readers seeking the historical geography of banner territories are referred back to the section on counties in the *Historical Records*.[46] Finally, each detailed entry on banner territory begins by noting the county or counties with jurisdictional claim to the area. Thus the Dorben Keukhed Banner of Ulaanchab League and even the northernmost of Ulaanchab's banners, Darkhan Banner, fall within the jurisdictional territory of Wuchuan County (*Wuchuan xia jing ye*). However, the gazetteer hints at a degree of ambiguity about the exact northern

[45] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai taidong tushuju, 1921), 3rd juan, p. 1. By this stage Suiyuan authorities had established Guyang Preparatory County. This administration took its territory from both Wuchuan and Wuyuan counties, although the precise details of Guyang's territorial form were still being drafted.

[46] See for example Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 4th juan, p. 28.

boundaries of the two counties that lay claim to Ulaanchab; the term "incompletely divided" (*fen xia zhi bu jin*) used in the above quote suggests that boundaries are still not fixed.[47] In the more far-flung areas of Yeke-juu League such as Otog, Wang, and the southwestern section of Juungar banners, "county administration at present has still not been established" (*jin wei she xian*). The implication is that counties will eventually expand to cover all banner territory.[48]

Such an ordering of the details of Suiyuan's territoriality lays emphasis upon counties as the most important geo-administrative elements of the Region. Mongol space, although important in a geographical sense, is submerged. The relationship between Suiyuan's two systems of territoriality is unequal. Indeed the *Historical Records* suggests that Suiyuan's present configuration represents the changed relationship between Chinese and Mongol systems of administrative geography. "The basis for gaining territory [in the past] has been with banners as the warp and counties as the weft... [now, however] counties form the warp and banners form the weft in the general plan of border administration."[49]

Suiyuan Administration and Mongol Space

Suiyuan gained the bulk of its territorial form from the sectioning off of the two "western leagues" of Inner Mongolia, but in territorial administrative reality its officials occupied and concentrated upon a much smaller southeastern section of this area formed by the core territory of the counties. Mongol banners into the early 1930s remained submerged and detached from the administration of the different heads of Suiyuan. From the perspective of Mongol space, the full realisation of Suiyuan's territoriality remained a work in progress. In line with the separateness of Inner Mongolian banner lands, there was no formal office within Suiyuan government for administration of Mongol territory or population and the chief contact between Mongol banners and monasteries and Suiyuan authorities in the pre-1928 period was in land reclamation. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the process of reclamation proceeded from Mongol prior ownership of the land. In this sense Mongol elites such as banner heads, nobles and

[47] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 4th juan, pp. 24-29.

[48] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 4th juan, pp. 24-29.

[49] Zhang Dingyi, *Sui cheng*, 3rd juan, p. 1.

high-ranking lamas were essential to for initiating the process of land conversion by "volunteering" or "reporting" land to Suiyuan's land reclamation authorities. The branch offices of the General Bureau of Land Reclamation became the de facto Suiyuan governmental presence in Mongol banner lands. At no time, even after the establishment of the SSAR-sponsored Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu Thirteen Banners Federation (to be considered next), was there a formal incorporation of banners within the hierarchy of Suiyuan's government.

Nonetheless, there were at times less formal representational claims and gestures of incorporation made by SSAR officials. The clearest of these occurred in 1925 with the arrival of Feng Yuxiang's Guominjun regime. Under the supervision of Feng's officials, banner representatives from Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues gathered in Guisui, and on 25 March established the Ulaanchab-Yeke-juu Leagues Thirteen Banners Federation (*Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi lianhehui*). The Federation existed putatively to promote Mongol cultural advancement, to "assist the administration of the Suiyuan Military Governor and to represent Mongol opinion in the culturally insular atmosphere of the Northwestern wilderness..."[50] Article Three of the Federation's organisational charter describes its task as: "to pass requests and proposals on issues and matters concerning Mongols on to the Suiyuan Military Governor."[51] This assistance was spelled out in greater detail at the general conference held immediately after the establishment of the Federation. According to Li Xin, Li Mingzhong's deputy who officiated at the two sessions of the conference, the poor communications that had existed between authorities in Guisui and the far-flung Mongol banners should greatly improve. Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu's banners had had very poor communications with Suiyuan authorities before this date because of "extremely bad" transport links and language problems. Li claims that some important documents sent by Suiyuan officials had not arrived at banners even after several months. From now on the new Federation, with its office in a lane in the Old City (i.e. the Guihua section of Guisui), would have the responsibility of transmitting documents between banners and the Suiyuan government.[52] As a clear indicator of the importance of land

[50] "Wu Yi liang meng lianhehui chengli jianzhang." Kenwu Files, file no. 413-1-1060, Document 5, (7 April 1925).

[51] "Wu Yi liang meng lianhehui chengli janzhang."

[52] "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," *Nei Menggu dang'an shiliao*, no. 1 (1993), p. 47.

reclamation in the interface between Suiyuan authorities and Mongol banners, monthly funds for the Federation would come from the Suiyuan General Bureau of Land Reclamation. The Federation remained the only formal contact point between Suiyuan authorities and Mongol banners into the 1930s. The organisational chart of Suiyuan government in the 1934 *Overview of Suiyuan* labels the Federation's Office as a "non-administrative or special organ" (*fei xingzheng huo teshu jiguan*) in a similar category alongside the Tumed Banner Controller's Office (see below for a discussion of this office), and the Provincial Office for Gazetteer Compilation, and tersely notes its purpose as "to maintain touch with Mongol feeling, to entertain visiting [Mongol] princes, and to transmit documents and reports and other matters." Funding by this stage was provided monthly by the Suiyuan Government's Department of Finance.[53]

The conference which followed the establishment of the Federation in 1925 marked the first time that the Han and Mongol components of Suiyuan's space had come together. Beside banner representatives, representatives from all of Suiyuan's governmental departments (including a particularly strong contingent from the Land Reclamation Bureau) attended. Suiyuan officials spoke and proposed motions aimed at integrating Mongol banners into Suiyuan's developmental programs. Banners were asked to send students to Guisui to study or do military training, to send sample pairs of livestock to Guisui for quality assessment in order to devise a plan for the revitalisation of Suiyuan's pastoralism, and to send examples of local produce clearly labeled with date, origin and use to be collected by the regional government's Department of Industry for display in the Suiyuan Produce Hall alongside produce from Suiyuan's counties.[54] Mongol delegates mutely or blandly acquiesced to these proposals, but the business of the conference emphasised how separate and distant the Mongol banners were from Suiyuan administration. Banner princes were clearly suspicious of close involvement with Suiyuan authorities.

At the second meeting on 28 March 1925 Mongol delegates took the floor to put forward their proposals for discussion. These

[53] See fold-out chart of the organisation of Suiyuan's government in Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), *Suiyuan gaikuang* (Guisui: 1933).

[54] By September 1932 the names had changed: now the Suiyuan Provincial Department of Construction was requesting exhibits for the Suiyuan Provincial National Products Exhibition Hall. The *Suiyuan Daily* noted that only three of the thirteen banners, Khanggin and Dalad banners from Yeke-juu league and the easternmost of the three Urad banners of Ulaanchab league, had so far submitted exhibits for this display. See *SRB*, 13 September 1932.

concentrated upon quite a different series of issues which stemmed from the harsh reality of Han-Mongol interaction in Suiyuan. Banner representatives demanded action on banditry, which had grown to become a serious threat to pastoral activities. In the eyes of one banner representative, pastures now were scenes of random violence, murders and the constant taking of Mongol livestock, and he requested that Suiyuan authorities distribute guns to each of the banners to deal with the problem. The chair of the meeting, however, refused on the grounds that one of the reasons why banditry was so rife in Suiyuan was to do with the large number of guns in the area already. Suiyuan military protection against bandits, however, was a dubious proposition from the Mongol perspective. In the same session Dalad Banner asked that the recently withdrawn Suiyuan military formerly stationed in the banner not be replaced. The Dalad representative cited instances of the unit's conflict with the Banner militia, hostage taking, and the theft and confiscation of animals and property. In another motion Dalad Banner requested that arms confiscated from the banner by this same group of soldiers be returned. A joint motion on behalf of all banners protested the high transit taxes on personal goods and goods destined to be given as contributions to temples and monasteries passing through Suiyuan's customs posts. Land reclamation also featured among the grievances. The Dalad Banner and representatives of two of the Urad banners each proposed motions touching upon the Land Reclamation Bureau's non-payment of huge accumulated debts to Mongol banners for land conversion.[55] In response the head of Suiyuan's Department of Industry, Han An, promised that, with a new administration now in power in Suiyuan, these problems would be rectified. However, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, the debts remained unpaid and were still accumulating in 1929.[56] The conference closed with Suiyuan's officialdom and the Mongol world unreconciled. Banner delegates returned to their banners and little more than a year later the Feng Yuxiang regime in Suiyuan ceased to exist.

Tumed Banner in the pre-1928 Republic

The remaining piece of the Mongolian territorial jigsaw that Suiyuan authorities confronted and had to negotiate was the Tumed Banner.

[55] "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," pp. 48-51.
[56] "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," p. 48.

Although the least extensive section of Suiyuan, Tumed Banner territory was co-extensive with the core counties of Suiyuan. Moreover, the Banner's population alone accounted for something between fifty and sixty thousand people in the 1930s, more than the total population of all six of the banners of Ulaanchab and maybe two thirds of the combined populations of the seven banners of Yeke-juu League.[57]

Republicanism found the different order of territoriality for the leagues and banners of Inner Mongolia difficult to incorporate. However, the idea of Court Mongolia (*nei shu Menggu*), which was the basis of Tumed Banner's place within the Qing empire, was too fine a distinction to survive the transition from empire to Republic. Tumed Banner officials quickly realised that they were fighting for the survival of their Banner within the new order. Even before the arrival of General Zhang Shaozeng, Banner officials had appealed to Republican authorities in May 1912 urging that the Banner's separate status be recognised in future revisions to the Beijing parliament's law on electoral representation. Tumed Banner, argued the petitioners, was not a part of Inner Mongolia and as the chamber had a duty to represent all Mongols, then a parliamentary seat should be created for a Tumed Banner representative alongside the groupings of seats already dedicated to representatives from Inner and Outer Mongolias. The response, however, was not encouraging. Beijing officials dismissed the Tumed Banner as "having an eight banner system"—a technical misunderstanding of the exact terms of the Tumeds' relationship with central authority in the Qing—and territorially belonging to an area "long colonised and drawn within the system of county administration." The voting rights of eligible Tumed Mongols should then be exercised via the relevant county administrations to which they belonged territorially.[58]

Two years later the banner faced extinction. After the establishment of the SSAR in 1914 and the renaming of the Suiyuan Town General as the Suiyuan Military Governor, Yuan Shikai's government, in the name of administrative rationalisation, decided to abolish the position of Guihua Town Vice Commander-in-Chief. This was the central government-appointed administrator of Tumed Banner. Banner officials telegraphed Beijing in protest and gained a reprieve: the Suiyuan Military Governor, along with his other duties, would take on

[57] See Table 1 in Chapter One for detailed estimates of the Mongol population in Suiyuan in the 1930s.
[58] "Menggu lianhehui chengqing Tumote qi xuanju banfa wen," *Zhengfu gongbao*, 17 April 1912, p. 11.

the responsibilities of the former Guihua Town office and administer the Tumed Banner. The Banner's administration was then placed under the new Suiyuan regional government's civil administrative office. A Tumed Banner history claims that the Military Governor at the time, Pan Juying, plundered the finances of the Banner during this period and planned to abolish its administration. Tumed Banner officials formed a protest delegation and took their case to Beijing, where they gained the support of the head of the Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs, Prince Gungsangnorbu. They demanded the protection of their banner's administration and the return of Tumed Banner finances. In December 1914 Yuan Shikai finally granted the Banner an official (but lower-ranking) Controller (*zongguan*), to be an appointee of the Suiyuan Military Governor, to manage Tumed Banner affairs and instructed that the funds taken from the Banner be returned.[59] From this time onwards the Banner lost the prefix "Guihua Town" and became known as "Tumed Special Banner"—a reference to the Banner's position outside of Inner Mongolian league administration. This name remained in customary use after Suiyuan become a province in 1929.[60] Until 1928, those appointed to the post of Tumed Banner Controller were always Han officials attached to whichever regime occupied Suiyuan's administration at the time. In 1928 the first native Tumed Mongol, Mantai, gained the position and after his death in 1934 another Tumed Mongol, the local scholar and official Rong Xiang, took the post.[61]

Tumed Banner Mongols were more closely involved in Suiyuan affairs than the banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues for several reasons. First, Tumed Mongols lived in the central area of Suiyuan provincial life, the Tumed plain, and generally practiced agriculture or rented out their lands to Han peasants and lived in villages, sometimes exclusively Mongol, and sometimes mixed with Han. Moreover, unlike the relationship between Suiyuan authority and the banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu, there were clearer lines of authority linking the Suiyuan government with the Tumed Banner. Thus, for example, the *Suiyuan Monthly*, the monthly compendium of local government business which was established in 1925, contained the official appeals

[59] Tumote zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (ed.), *Tumote (bu) qi lishi jianjie* (Internal publication, 1987), p. 36.

[60] Zhou Qingshu (ed.), *Nei Menggu lishi dili* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1994), p. 283.

[61] Rong was officially sworn in as Tumed Banner Controller in late October 1934. See *SRB*, 27 October 1934.

to the Suiyuan Military Governor of the Tumed Banner Controller and the orders of this office alongside similar appeals and orders of Suiyuan's counties.[62]

Tumed Mongols also had a pronounced presence in education in Suiyuan in the pre-1928 period. The Tumed Banner elite benefited from the banner's long established school in Guihua. The Tumed Banner Upper Primary School ran with scant funds from the banner's main source of income, the tax on a banner-operated coal mine in the Daqing mountains. Although its pupils were almost exclusively Tumed Mongols, several of the school's headmasters were local Han teachers and the school was an integral part of the local educational scene.[63] Tumed students could also benefit from the possibility of entering Suiyuan's middle schools in Guisui, and the banner government at various times had a modest system of scholarships for those students going on to study in Beijing.[64] Most importantly, the Tumed Mongol educational path was enhanced by what became known after 1918 as the National Mongolian-Tibetan Special School (*guoli Meng-Zang zhuanmen xuexiao*) in Beijing. Prince Gungsangnorbu, the head of the Department of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, established this school in 1913 to provided scholarships for Mongols who could pass the entry requirements.[65] Having passed through their own Banner primary school and also benefiting from the middle schools of Guisui, Tumed Banner students were uniquely placed. Little wonder that in 1925 Tumed Banner students accounted for more than fifty per cent of all students from Suiyuan studying outside the Region at the time—34 of the 60 students of Suiyuan origin studying in Beijing in 1925 were Tumed Mongols enrolled at the Mongolian-Tibetan School.[66]

Educational accomplishment, then, functioned to place some Tumed Mongols at the very centre of Suiyuan intellectual and political

[62] See for example the civil administration section of *Suiyuan yuekan*, no. 3, (1925), *minzheng* section, passim.

[63] See the list of headmasters of the school in Yun Suzhen and Rong Zhulin, *Tumote xuexiao gaikuang* (Huhehaote: 1984), p. 59 which included in the late 1910s Guo Xiangji, one of the central figures in Suiyuan education in the Republican period.

[64] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," part 2, *Nei Menggu tushuguan gongzuo*, no. 2, (1984), p. 30.

[65] Justin Tighe, "Revolution Beyond the Wall: Tumed Mongol Memoirs and the Construction of an Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Narrative 1919-1928" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, La Trobe University, 1993), pp. 60-62. For a brief history of the school and lists of graduating students for each year see Zhongyang minzu xueyuan fuzhong (ed.), *Zhongyang minzu xueyuan fuzhong (yuan Meng Zang xuexiao) xiaoqing 80 zhounian 1913-1993* (1993).

[66] See table in *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 1, pp. 56-61.

life. The Tumed Banner Controller from 1934 onwards, Rong Xiang, was also probably the most famous local Suiyuan literatus. In his collection of poetry, *Poems from the Ruizhi Studio*, published in 1930, he identifies himself at the end of his preface as "Suiyuan Tumed Mongol Rong Xiang" and he obviously built his career and reputation by working within Suiyuan's local political and intellectual circles.[67] He was one of the founders of the Suiyuan *huiguan* in Beijing, and ably assisted a delegation of Suiyuan's gentry who came to Beijing in 1920 to protest against the exactions of the Suiyuan Military Governor at the time, Cai Chengxun. He was also one of the founders of the Guisui Electric Light Company in 1922, an important official within Ma Fuxiang's administration in Suiyuan in the early 1920s, a teacher at Suiyuan Middle School, and a key figure in local literary circles. He later also assumed an important position in the Suiyuan Provincial Gazetteer Compilation Office. Rong's career is an excellent example of a Tumed Mongol using the opportunities provided by the provincial world of Suiyuan.

And yet a clear sense of a separate Tumed Banner Mongol identity also remained. Among the delegates at the Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu Leagues' Mongol banners conference in March 1925 was a representative from Tumed Banner, Sen-e-su-lu-dai,[69] who on the second day urged the meeting to permit Tumed Banner to join with the thirteen banners within the new Federation. Sen-e-su-lu-dai's motion cited his banner's high cultural level and claimed that the Tumed Banner was a pioneer which could lead the Inner Mongol banners in this modern age. The chair of the meeting, the Suiyuan Military Governor's appointed representative Li Xin, interposed, however, that the reason for the establishment of the new organisation was for ease of communications between the government in Guisui and the distant banners. Tumed Banner had its own officially recognised office (that is the Tumed Banner Controller's Office) and was close to the centre of Suiyuan authority. Moreover, the new organisation was specifically for the thirteen banners, and any change in the status of the Tumed Banner administration would be irregular and cause bureaucratic complications. The Tumed Banner delegate persisted, but once again

[67] See Rong Xiang, *Ruizhitang shi chao* (No publication details, 1930), *xu* section, last page.

[68] Rong Xiang, "Daqing shanren zixu," part 3, *Nei Menggu tushuguan gongzuo*, no. 3 (1984), p. 32.

[69] This is the Chinese transliteration of his name. I am unable to find a Mongolian transliteration.

was rebuffed.[70] At around the same time some of the younger generation of Tumed Mongols, who had recently attended the Mongolian-Tibetan School in Beijing, were involved in the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and were sending petitions to the new revolutionary government in Ulaanbator requesting Inner Mongolia's unification with the new Mongolia.[71]

Although almost wholly integrated within Suiyuan before 1928, Tumed Banner still preserved a core sense of Mongol separateness and difference. Tumed Mongols, as we shall see in the next chapter, were to play an important role in the re-negotiation of Suiyuan claims to Mongol space in the face of an assertive Mongol autonomy movement in the coming decade.

The Case of Mongol Education

As we have seen in the previous chapter, within the modernising reconfiguration of the state which began with the New Policies of the last decade of the Qing and continued during the Republic, education was universally accepted as one of the crucial vectors of cultural transformation, enlightenment, and modernisation and an important area of state activity. The establishment of networks of schools within a hierarchical system from locale to administrative centre was also an act of asserting and realising administrative control over population and territory. In this context the question of Mongol education within Suiyuan becomes an interesting example of both the inability and reluctance of Suiyuan authorities to assert a clear link with the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab, and yet another example of the difficulties of dealing with two different spaces and categories of administration.

In 1918 the Ministry of Education of the Beijing warlord government issued an overview of efforts being made in education for Mongols and Hui in which it observed:

> The area of the banners of Inner Mongolia has already been totally drawn within the administrations of the three eastern provinces and the three special regions. All educational affairs [therefore] fall within the

[70] "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," p. 52.

[71] Atwood, "Inner Mongolian Nationalism in the 1920s," p. 83.

> purview of senior officials from each region [or province] to plan and manage. There are many different approaches...[72]

The Ministry was suggesting that Mongol banners had been administratively subsumed (although it remained vague about exactly what the terms of incorporation were) and therefore Mongol education was the responsibility of the governments of each region or province. The report described the Chahar Special Region's efforts in Mongol education but mentions nothing about the situation in Suiyuan. How did local Suiyuan educational officials view their responsibilities in this regard?

As we have seen, Suiyuan's educational infrastructure and bureaucracy began to move beyond embryonic form in the first half of the 1920s and the SSAR gained a provincial-level education department in August 1924. An inspector of education for Mongol banners was created in 1922, but the position was abolished in 1924 to be replaced by two "Region-wide" inspectors of education.[73] Up to this point, the efforts of Suiyuan authorities in Mongol education were negligible. The SSAR government's first sustained attempts at addressing the question of Mongol education occurred during the period of the Feng Yuxiang-dominated regime in Guisui in early 1925, a little less than a year after the establishment of the Region's Department of Education. The general account of the development of education in Suiyuan contained in the second issue of the *Suiyuan Educational Quarterly* of 1925 makes explicit reference to Mongol banner education noting that it was a "special situation" which was particularly beset with the problem of bad communications. Mongol education was now acknowledged as coming under the educational mantle of the Region's government.[74]

Sha Mingyuan, the head of education in Suiyuan in the new regime, rapidly devised plans for the establishment of a new Region-funded school, the Five Nations College (*wu zu xueyuan*) in Guisui. The new school opened for an experimental intake in March 1925. The college's purpose, according to its plan, was to concentrate upon and

[72] "Jiaoyubu gongbu quanguo Meng Hui jiaoyu gaikuang" (1918) Zhongyang dang'anguan *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 120 CD-ROMs (Beijing: Beijing dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996) Section 1, E1, Education, part 5.

[73] *Suiyuan tongzhi gao*, 52nd juan, in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 173.

[74] "Suiyuan jiaoyuting yange shu lüe," *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 2, 1925, jizai section, p. 1.

"give superior treatment" to Mongol students.[75] But besides acknowledging the educational needs of Mongols, the school was clearly part of an over-arching assimilationist program. As befitting its name, Han and Hui students would also attend the school and the educational initiative was understood to be part of Feng's goal of "developing the Mongol borderlands and assimilating the races" (*kaikuo Mengjiang ronghe ge minzu*). Education was the key to "eliminating the gap [in mutual understanding] between counties and banners."[76] The new school's mission was also couched in Northwestern terms: its syllabus was especially designed to suit the "Northwestern environment" and included agriculture as a major compulsory subject. The school would also give Han students skills in Mongolian "because the great majority of the Northwest comes under the Mongol people [and] if we wish to open and develop the Northwest we first must clearly understand Mongolian." To this end, the College provided an optional class in the Mongolian language.[77]

The new college was the venue for the important conference of Suiyuan officials and Mongol banner delegates examined above. College students welcomed the banner delegates and the visitors posed for a group photograph in the exercise ground with their hosts. The Mongol delegations sat cross-legged in the front and were backed by regimented groups of students wearing military-style uniforms.[78] Clearly the new college was being used as a material display of the Suiyuan authorities new commitment to Mongol development. Sha Mingyuan exhorted banner representatives at the conference to quickly dispatch students to take up places in the new college.[79] The results by mid-year, however, were disappointing. Recruitment for the initial intake had been mainly via Suiyuan's counties, with each county required to send a quota of students:[80]

> The result of our experiment from March until now is that the great majority of Mongol youths who arrived to study [at the College] were from either the culturally-advanced Tumed Banner or the semi culturally-advanced Dalad Banner. Other Mongols, those that herd and live in the open, still don't understand the government's policy of preferential treatment. This phenomenon is definitely a result of the bad

[75] "Benyuan shu hou zhi jihua," *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 2 (1925), *jizai* section, p. 36.

[76] "Wu zu xueyuan yange," *Suiyuan jiaoyu jikan*, no. 2 (1925), *jizai* section, p. 35.

[77] "Benyuan shu hou zhi jihua," p. 36.

[78] The picture appears in *Suiyuan yuekan*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1925), front section.

[79] "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," p. 43.

[80] "Benyuan shu hou zhi jihua," p. 36.

> treatment that Mongols received from local governments of the past. The language gap and cultural insularity are also major reasons.[81]

The conclusion from this experience was that Mongols required a different type of educational strategy. Emphasis should move from "attracting [Mongols] to study to going out to teach [Mongols]."[82] A hint of this approach was already evident in the discussion of education at the Conference. Alongside sending talented students to Guisui, Director Sha had urged delegates to return to their banners and raise funds for the establishment of primary schools. The Suiyuan government would support this process with the speedy establishment of a Mongol Banners' Teacher Training Institute in Guisui. Teacher training, Sha argued, was the logical place to start in developing Mongol education.[83] The Institute, however, never materialised. Only in 1936, in the face of strong Mongol claims to autonomy, was the National Suiyuan Mongol Banners Normal School established. The funding for this school came from the central government in Nanjing.[84]

By the end of 1925, according to the *Northwest Collection Magazine*, the Five Nations College had seven classes and 200 students: 35 per cent were Han, 28 per cent were Mongol and 22 per cent were Hui, while Manchus accounted for the remaining 15 per cent.[85] Tumed Mongols would have remained the main group of Mongol students. However, the Suiyuan government's initiatives in Mongol education in 1926 and 1927 were not sustained. By June 1927 the Five Nations College was renamed the Zhongshan College, and it had become a non-ethnically specific "normal college" (that is a teacher's training college) funded by the Suiyuan Department of Education.[86] The category of Mongol education also vanished from Suiyuan education department plans and reports until the mid-1930s. A plan for education in Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues published in the *Overview of Suiyuan* of 1934 laid emphasis upon the strategy first proposed in 1925 of training Mongols as teachers and then dispatching then to their home banners to teach. It gave estimates of costs, but no

[81] "Benyuan shu hou zhi jihua," p. 36.. The Dalad representative to the conference in April 1925 noted that his banner had sent twelve students to the new school. The Ulaanchab league head, however, had not permitted banners to send students. See "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," p. 43.

[82] "Benyuan shu hou zhi jihua," p. 36.

[83] "1925 Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi wanggong daibiaohui yilu," p. 44.

[84] "Suiyuan jiaoyuting yange shu lüe."

[85] "Xibei jiaoyu yi nian lai fada zhi gaikuang," *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1, no. 11 (November 1925), p. 15.

[86] *Suiyuan tong zhi gao* xuexiao zhi, in *NMJYSZ*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 668-669.

mention is made of any funds earmarked for Mongol education in the 1934 overview of educational expenditure in Suiyuan.[87] Alongside this, in its section on Mongol and Hui education, the *Overview* could only cite the existence of two specifically Mongol schools in Suiyuan: the Tumed Banner Upper Primary School in Guisui and the Urad Banners' Primary School established in 1925 in Baotou. Both were run with banner funds.[88]

Suiyuan's neglect of Mongol education was symptomatic of the lack of clarity in the relationship between Suiyuan authorities and Mongol banners together with a sense of inability and unwillingness to take responsibility for this problem. Officials had identified Mongol education as a "special" problem but, beyond this, they obviously saw the task as difficult. Mongols were resistant to attempts to incorporate them within educational programs, and educational officials were hard-pressed establishing even basic educational infrastructure in the counties of Suiyuan. Indeed, there is evidence that local officials saw the job as thankless. One author writing in late 1925 broaches the topic of Mongol education after a separate discussion about the parlous state of educational budgets and the spread of schools in the counties of Suiyuan and Chahar. Mongols, he observes, are conservative and not good at establishing education. General plans are very hard to put into practice. Banner populations and elites don't understand the benefits of education, and geography and the extensive patterns of life on the steppe also make it hard to establish schools. Mongol education in this way awaits revival:[89]

> Mongol people follow the water and grass [to decide where] to live. In ancient times they were termed a "mobile nation" (*xing guo*). They have no definite educational infrastructure... If a banner government established a school it would only teach Mongolian script and official style for government documents. At the start of the Republic, except for the minute numbers of people who received an education under the Qing, the majority were backward and progress was extremely slow. Only one in three hundred knows the Chinese script...

Moreover, in the author's experience, Mongols had to be forced to attend schools:

[87] "Suiyuan sheng minguo ershisan nian jiaoyu gaikuang," *Suiyuan jiaoyu gongbao* vol. 7, no. 1, (January 1937), in *NMJYSZ* vol. 1, part 1, p. 101.

[88] *Suiyuan sheng zhengfu mishuchu (ed.), Suiyuan gaikuang*, section 1, pp. 47-50. According to this account there had also been a network of seven Tumed Banner-funded primary schools in Guisui, Bikeji, Chasuqi, Salaqi and Baotou, but they had all ceased to operate owing to a lack of funds.

[89] "Fangken yu Menggu jiaoyu," *Xibei huikan*, vol. 1, no. 5 (9 October 1925), p. 4.

> If a Mongol banner school is enrolling students the Banner Controller [it seems clear from the context that the author is talking of the eight Chahar Banners in particular] must order each group of families to provide students to be forcibly sent according to a quota. When fathers and elders hear that their sons are to enter school it is just like those who turn white with fear at the mere mention of a tiger.

In spite of all the incentives of food, accommodation, and books provided at government expense, Mongol students "shrink back and don't advance."[90]

Mongol education began to resurface as an item within the Suiyuan provincial education concern after 1934. The General Administrative Report for the Suiyuan Provincial Education Department in 1936 refers to the province's promotion of Mongol banner education in the section labeled "About Our Province's Special [Educational] Problems" and makes note of developments in recent years:

> We find that among the schools built by the thirteen banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues, Tumed Banner, and the four Banners of Suidong [i.e. eastern Suiyuan],[91] there is only a Tumed Banner-run lower secondary school, and eighteen primary schools run by [various] banners. The immaturity of [Mongol] education can be imagined. The central [government] has specially extended funds for border education... In 1935 the National Suiyuan Mongol Banners Normal School was established, in order to foster teaching talent for Mongol banner primary schools and in 1936 ten Mongol banner primary schools were established...[92]

There were several reasons for this change. First, the shifting and ever-changing political situation during the warlord period made it difficult for any one regime to fully address the contradictions of two spaces. The post-1929 period, particularly the long period with Fu Zuoyi at the helm from mid-1931 onwards, enabled the emergence and development of a sustained policy towards this question. More importantly, this reappearance of Suiyuan official concern for Mongol education was a response to the development of an Inner Mongolian movement for political autonomy and its gaining complexity and confidence. This presented a challenge to Suiyuan authorities, who responded with attempts to co-opt Mongols and to bolster Suiyuan's

[90] "Fangken yu Menggu jiaoyu," p. 4.

[91] The four banners of Suidong were the four Chahar right flank banners whose territories were co-extensive with the five counties ceded from former Chahar Special Administrative Region territory with Suiyuan's elevation to provincial status in 1929.

[92] "Suiyuan sheng jiaoyuting Minguo ershiwu nian xingzheng zong baogao," *Suiyuan jiaoyu gongbao*, vol. 7, no. 1, January 1937, in *NMJYSZ*, vol 1, part 1, p. 226.

position as a natural claimant to its subordinate Mongol space. In the following chapter we turn to the ways in which Suiyuan authorities dealt with this increasingly threatening Mongol problem.

CHAPTER SIX

SUIYUAN AND THE RISE OF BEILE-YIN SUME

BEILE-YIN SUME /BAILINGMIAO

In late July 1932, Shi Huayan, the Director of Suiyuan's General Bureau of Land Reclamation, traveled north from Guisui through the Daqing mountains and beyond the limits of Wuchuan County to the temple complex of Beile-yin sume (known in Chinese as Bailingmiao; see Map 8) in Ulaanchab's Darkhan Banner to formally welcome the Panchen Lama on behalf of the Suiyuan provincial government. The director traveled by armored car, most probably as a precaution against bandits, but also possibly as a show of Suiyuan government substance to those gathered at the temple complex. The Panchen Lama's visit to Beile-yin sume attracted Mongols from all over Ulaanchab League to pay homage to this figure who was second only to the Dalai Lama in the hierarchy of incarnated Buddhas or *khutughtu* within Lamaist Buddhism.[1] A *Suiyuan Daily* reporter recorded Shi's impressions on his return to Guisui. Although obviously taken by the beauty of the temple, the Director used the language of the land reclaimer and moderniser to sum up his experience. In his eyes the temple-settlement's distance from the centre of Suiyuan provincial authority was clearly more than just physical:

> Along the way one saw total wilderness, green grass and ... no sign of humans for tens of *li* and not a tree to speak of, [indeed] a virgin land anxiously awaiting development. Bailingmiao is surrounded by mountains on all four sides. The scenery is elegant and the temple is lofty in appearance... The whole temple has over one thousand monks and several hundred families of Han are engaged in commerce in the vicinity. Far off and indistinct on the open plain are Mongol yurts. All the clothing and food of the Mongols is extremely simple and crude.

[1] On the Panchen Lama see Melvyn C. Goldstein with the help of Gelek Rimpoche, *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1989), p. 62. See Sechin Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 281-282 for a discussion of incarnate Buddhas (bodhisattva) or *khutughtu* in the Mongolian context.

> They follow the grass and water to live [*sui shuicao er ju*] and still haven't left behind their sixteenth-century nomadic lifestyle. They worship Lamaism and... [revere] the Panchen Lama. The princes of Ulaanchab league have spent tens of thousands [of *yuan*] and have prepared for several months for the visit of the Panchen Lama; and Mongols young and old, who have never seen the Panchen Lama, stream along the roads, the blind being led, the lame being supported. There are even those that prostrate themselves [in reverence] at every step... [2]

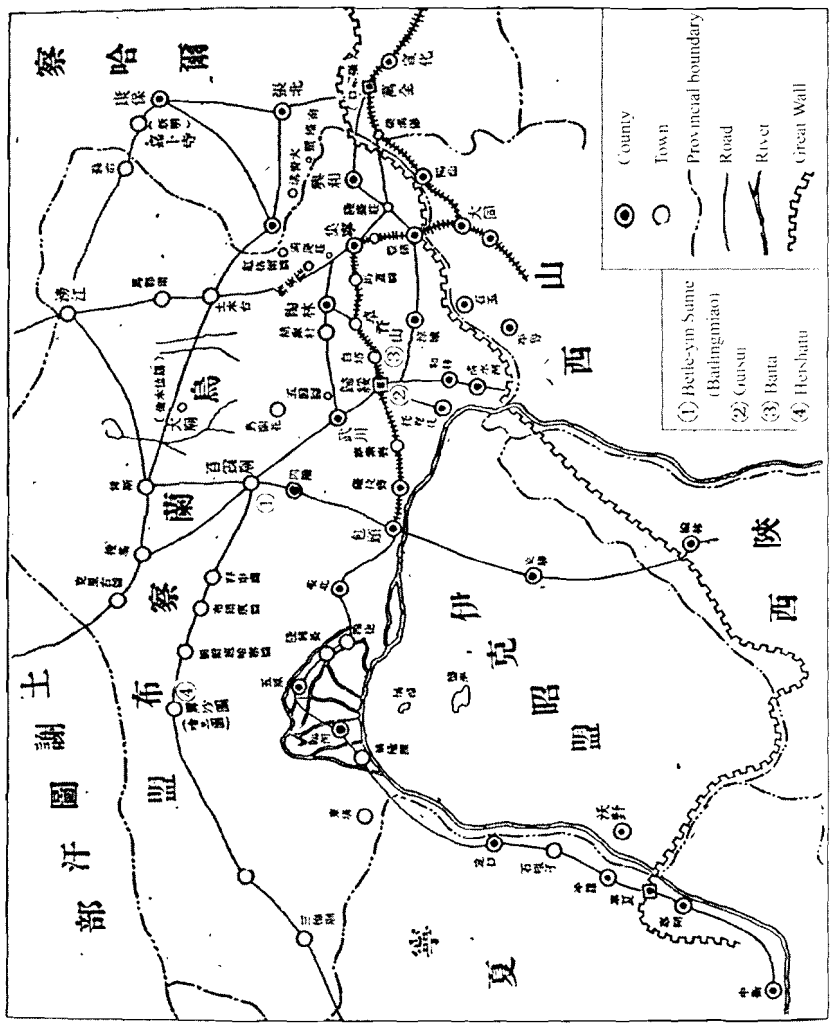
As in keeping with past practice, a land reclamation official represented the Suiyuan government in dealing with Mongol-related affairs. However, although it is impossible to determine conclusively, Shi's excursion was most likely the furthest journey into Mongol territory undertaken by such a high-ranking Suiyuan governmental figure up to this date.[3] The trip and its circumstances are important for several reasons. First, it underscores the renewed importance of an alternative Mongol system of geography, that is the network of Mongol monasteries and temples spread across the grasslands, which contrasted with the logic of Suiyuan's spatial order as viewed from Guisui. Beile-yin sume was a famous and strategically important monastery and the central temple of Darkhan Banner. The temple complex lay roughly 170km northwest of Guisui and (as we have seen in the previous chapter) it was the site of intense fighting in 1913 between troops from Outer Mongolia and from Shanxi, in which many of the original buildings had been destroyed. What Director Shi admired were new buildings constructed in 1924.[4] Moreover, the Panchen Lama had not arrived there via the provincial capital of Guisui, the centre of Suiyuan governmental authority and the most usual gateway to Suiyuan, but overland from another monastery to the east in the neighbouring Inner Mongolian league of Shilin-gol.

Second, the presence of the Panchen Lama in the area and the importance placed upon the visit by the Suiyuan government emphasised the radically different political situation that confronted Suiyuan after the Japanese occupation of China's Northeastern provinces in late 1931. In March 1932, four months prior to the

[2] *Suiyuan ribao* (hereafter abbreviated as *SRB*), 30 July 1932. Unless otherwise noted, all references to *SRB* are taken from page 3 of the relevant edition.

[3] The function of the local land reclamation bureaucracy as an interface between the Suiyuan government and Mongols is examined in chapters three and five.

[4] See report in the *SRB*, 8 July 1934 which talks of the temple complex being almost totally destroyed in 1913 and rebuilt in 1924.



Map 8: Suiyuan in 1937

(Based on Ye Qiu, *Guofang qianxian de Suiyuan*, Shanghai: Shenghuo shudian, 1937, p. 3)

Panchen Lama's visit to Beile-yin sume, the Japanese had established the puppet state of Manchukuo. Manchukuo also included the eastern section of Inner Mongolia and, as one writer in the *Suiyuan Daily* argued on the day that Shi left to greet the Panchen Lama, many Suiyuaners feared that if nothing was done, the whole of Inner Mongolia would be a Japanese colony within "not even two or three years."[5] The newspaper report of Director Shi's trip concluded by emphasising the Panchen Lama's patriotism and loyalty to the Chinese central government. He was "as far from those puppets for a different nation [i.e. Mongols and Chinese serving the Manchukuo government] as the heavens are from earth."[6] The Panchen Lama had been in wandering exile in China since his flight from Kokonor (i.e. Qinghai) following a conflict with the Dalai Lama at the end of 1923.[7] His esteem in Mongol eyes was great and his active patriotism towards the Chinese Republic was a key part of the GMD government's strategy to ensure that Mongols were not tempted to find cause with the Japanese.[8] Despite the seeming exoticism of Mongol devotion to the Panchen Lama as described by Shi, when the Panchen Lama visited Guisui for the first time in October 1932, the Suiyuan government also welcomed him with great fanfare and ceremony.[9]

Unlike in the 1920s, however, the Chinese government now faced a more assertive Mongol politics. In response to Mongol political demands the central government had convened a Mongol Conference in 1930 and ratified a new organisational law for Inner Mongol leagues and banners in 1931. Little more than a year after Director Shi's visit to welcome the Panchen Lama, Beile-yin sume became the site of a conference of Mongol princes demanding "high-level autonomy" and the location of dramatic negotiations between Mongols and central government authorities, which the Chinese nation earnestly followed in daily newspapers. In April 1934 the temple-settlement became the official headquarters of the Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council (*Menggu difang zizhi zhengwu weiyuanhui*, most often referred to by the abbreviated title of *Meng zheng hui*, Mongol Political Council, or MPC)—the quasi autonomous Mongol government which compromised and contradicted Suiyuan's

[5] *SRB*, 24 July 1932.
[6] *SRB*, 30 July 1932.
[7] Goldstein, *Modern Tibet*, p. 113.
[8] Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo guomindang de dui Meng zhengce (1928-1949)," in *Nei Menggu jindai shi luncong*, no. 3, p. 247.
[9] *SRB*, 3 October 1932.

territoriality. By 1935 the existence of the MPC at Beile-yin sume made it a compulsory new destination for the curious intellectuals, journalists, and survey teams from various Chinese universities who visited Guisui to experience the nation's "Northwest."[10] Two Chinese film-makers visited Beile-yin sume in late 1934 and indeed, although he never journeyed as far as Beile-yin sume, the existence of the MPC enticed Chiang Kai-shek to visit Guisui in his personal rail carriage in November 1934.[11] Finally, in November 1936, Beile-yin sume once again became the site of intense fighting, this time between troops under the command of Fu Zuoyi and Japanese-backed Mongolian troops. The Chinese nation celebrated Fu's re-occupation of the temple complex as the first successful resistance of China to Japanese imperialism. The rapid growth in importance of Beile-yin sume in the 1930s represented a de-centering of the patterns of Suiyuan's politics and a fundamental challenge to the accepted content and ordering of Suiyuan's territory.

This chapter explores politics in Suiyuan within the changed context of the 1930s—a period in which Mongols reappeared at the centre of local politics. The proponents and champions of Suiyuan had to jostle on the one hand with the powerful reassertion of a Mongol alternative version of political space and territory, and on the other hand, with the increasing threat of Suiyuan's territorial extinguishment at the hands of the Japanese. From this perspective, the most detailed and complete surviving record of this period is the July 1932 to October 1937 run of the *Suiyuan Daily*, the official mouthpiece of the Suiyuan provincial government and the provincial branch of the GMD.

[10] For example the Fudan University Northwest Survey Team visited in August 1934, the Beiping Combined Universities Northwest Survey Team in January 1935, and Northwest survey teams from Yanjing University, Nankai University, and Tianjin Hebei Provincial Industrial College in April 1935. In July 1935 teams from Beiping University and in August, Shanghai Jiaotong University visited. See variously *SRB*, 31 August 1934, 25 January, 2, 9 and 11 April, 12 July and 4 August 1935. Among individual visitors were Hu Shi, then head of the Department of Literature at Beiping University, and Jiang Kanghu the founder of the Chinese Socialist Party and educator. See *SRB*, 5, 13 July 1935.

[11] Chiang was escorted around Guisui with great ceremony by Fu Zuoyi, met local officials and spoke on Northwestern development. Relations with the MPC, however, were clearly the most important item on Chiang's agenda. According to the *Suiyuan Daily* he met with the two leading figures in the MPC, Prince Demchugdongrub and Prince Yondongwangchug, three times (including one banquet) in the two days he was in Guisui. See *SRB*, 8, 9 November 1934. The film makers were Shi Bangrui (who claims to have been instructed by Chiang to film Inner Mongolian scenery and sites for popular dissemination) and Wang Yuanlong, the maker of the documentary *Glory of the Northwest* (*Xibei zhi guang*). See *SRB*, 6, 26 November 1934.

This newspaper and its refraction of passing events and ideology forms the main source for this chapter's examination of the question of Suiyuan's response to Mongol contestation in the 1930s.[12] As events are particularly complex, a preliminary description of the key developments is important in making sense of the period.

Suiyuan In The 1930s And The Reappearance Of Inner Mongolia

The victory of the GMD's "Northern Expedition" under Chiang Kai-shek led to the partial unification of China and the establishment of a new national order emanating from Nanjing. The confirmation and further consolidation of Suiyuan's territoriality by its elevation to a province in September 1928 was a part of this new order. Politically, however, instability remained. Up until Fu Zuoyi's arrival in August 1931 the new province went through a quick succession of Shanxi-controlled chairmanships. The period was dominated by the reorganisation of warlord power in northern China and in particular the confrontation between Yan Xishan, allied with Feng Yuxiang, and the new central government in Nanjing. A costly war broke out between these two forces, the so called "Zhongyuan War," fought in Shanxi, Shaanxi, Henan, and Shandong in April and May 1930. In September 1930 Yan briefly established an alternative national government in Beiping/Beijing but by the end of the month the intervention of the Northeastern warlord Zhang Xueliang and his forces decisively ended the challenge from Feng and Yan. In early 1931 Yan and Feng's defeated military forces were reorganised. As has already been discussed in Chapter Two, at this time Zhang Xueliang divided Yan Xishan's Shanxi army into four armies within the new national army: the 32nd, 33rd, 34th, and 35th armies. Fu Zuoyi who had commanded on Yan and Feng's side in the Zhongyuan War brought the 35th army (consisting of the 72nd and 73rd divisions) with him when he came to take up his position in Suiyuan in August 1931.[13]

[12] There were two major local government/local GMD party controlled and funded daily newspapers in Guisui during the 1930s, the *Suiyuan Daily* and the *Suiyuan Republican Daily*. According to the *Suiyuan Comprehensive Draft Gazetteer* the *Suiyuan Daily* had a circulation of around 1000 readers. For a detailed account see Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan, 1987), pp. 133-134.

[13] Jiang Shuchen, *Fu Zuoyi zhuanlüe* (Beijing: Zhonghua qingnian chubanshe, 1990), p. 17.

Three major factors determine the shape and parameters of events in Suiyuan in the period from 1931 until 1937. First, the September 18th or Mukden Incident of 1931 and the subsequent loss of the Northeastern provinces to Japan led to nation-wide soul searching over the question of national territory. As we have seen in Chapter Two, this resulted in the sudden concentration of national attention on China's Northwest. Suiyuan as a direct result gained more prominence in the national eye. The new mood also influenced the style and rhetoric of Fu Zuoyi's administration in Suiyuan. China, as Fu's administration constantly reminded Suiyuaners, was now in a "Period of National Difficulty" (*guo nan shiqi*) requiring the qualities of moral austerity and resistance.[14] The advances of the Japanese army westward beyond Manchuria led to the growing sense of threat in Suiyuan and Fu famously led a campaign against the Japanese in Rehe Province, to Suiyuan's east, in the first half of 1933 with troops from the 35th army stationed in Suiyuan.[15] Soldiers who died in this campaign were buried in a specially constructed "Memorial for the Fallen Soldiers of the Great Wall Resistance to the Japanese" (later known as *lieshi gongyuan* or Martyr's Park) outside of Guisui. This became the venue for solemn ceremonies of remembrance and an important location to visit for travelers to Guisui. Indeed Chiang Kai-shek on his tour of Guisui in November 1934 visited this place of remembrance.[16]

Second, the loss of the Northeastern provinces to Japanese control signaled a new concern for national unity which benefited the recently vanquished Yan Xishan. Yan initially disappeared from political life after his defeat in 1930. In the wake of the Mukden Incident, however, national unity now became the slogan on everyone's lips and Yan regained his political power. In February 1932 the Central Government appointed him as head of the Taiyuan Pacification Office (*Taiyuan suijing shu*). As has been argued in Chapter Two, Yan's control of the Taiyuan Pacification Office plus his well-entrenched power in Shanxi and Suiyuan gave him both formal and informal dominance over politics and the economies in Shanxi and Suiyuan. An important part of Yan Xishan's interest in domination of Suiyuan stemmed from his desire to control the lucrative opium trade, Suiyuan being an important

[14] See for example *SRB*, 1 December 1932.

[15] For a detailed account and chronology see Jiang Shuchen, *Fu Zuoyi zhuanlüe*, pp. 20-26.

[16] *SRB*, 8 November 1934.

transit area for opium grown in Gansu and Ningxia.[17] As we shall see, Yan also became a powerful player in the attempts to control and undermine the Mongol autonomy movement in its base in Suiyuan in the 1930s.

The Re-emergence of Inner Mongolia

The third major component to Suiyuan politics in the 1930s was the emergence and growth of the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement. Given the GMD's earlier promises to allow self-determination and self-rule for China's "weak and small nationalities," Inner Mongol elites initially looked with hope upon the victory of the GMD and the establishment of a new government of national unity in Nanjing.[18] In summer 1928 the GMD took control of the former Department of Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs in Beijing and by early 1929 remodeled it as the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission (*Meng Zang shiwu weiyuanhui*). From the perspective of most of the banner princes of Inner Mongolia, the new Commission reassuringly retained the functions and powers in Mongol affairs of the former Department. These were ultimately derived from the statutes of the old imperial *Lifanyuan*.[19] In direct contrast, the announcement of the new central government's plans to abolish the Special Regions such as the SSAR and to create new provinces in Inner Mongolia quickly drew Mongol protest.

By abolishing the Special Regions in border areas in favour of provinces and the standardisation of political administration, the GMD threw into question the territorial and political status of the system of leagues and banners in Inner Mongolia. The Special Regions established in the early Republic had co-existed alongside the leagues and banners because both systems were administered in final theory by

[17] Owen Lattimore, "The Eclipse of Inner Mongolian Nationalism," *Studies in Frontier History Collected Papers 1928-1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 436.

[18] On initial Mongol optimism over the victory of the GMD see Sechin Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince The Life and Times of Demchugdongrob, 1902-1966* (Bellingham, Washington: Centre for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1999) p. 35, and also Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce 1928-1949," pp. 200-202.

[19] Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce (1928-1949)," p. 203. Wu-lan-shao-bu presents a detailed analysis of the Commission's budget during the 1930s and concludes that the majority of its funds went towards maintaining the loyalty of traditional Mongol banner elites.

central government authority and remained independent of one another (although the reality of this arrangement, as we have seen in the last chapter, was not so clear-cut). The creation of the new border provinces introduced a new and powerful intermediate level of Chinese governmental authority—provincial government—which had not existed previously in large areas of Inner Mongolia. This completed the provincialisation of Inner Mongolian territory begun in the late Qing.[20] The relationship between the new provincial authorities and Inner Mongol leagues and banners was jurisdictionally unclear. Although leagues and banners remained and provinces were not given explicit powers over Mongol jurisdictions, the GMD included Mongol representation on the executive committees of the new provincial governments. In Suiyuan, for example, the heads of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues, Prince Yondongwangchug and Prince Shagdurjab, were appointed to the new Suiyuan provincial government executive committee (*Suiyuan sheng zhengweihui*). This was the first time that any official and direct Mongol representation was incorporated within Chinese-style administration below the level of the central government in southwestern Mongolia. From the Mongol perspective the new provinces contradicted and threatened the system of Mongol territoriality which in the eyes of Inner Mongol elites lay at the heart of a continuing distinctive Mongol cultural, economic, and political existence.[21]

Protests from a loose coalition of Inner Mongol princes and banner representatives about the new system of provinces eventually forced the GMD to convene a Mongolian Convention in Nanjing in late May and early June 1930 to deal with Mongol demands and misgivings. Besides demands for clarification and recognition of the territoriality of Mongol leagues and banners, the Convention was also to address Mongol concerns over the spread of counties and land reclamation. The conflict in Northern China between the warlords Yan and Feng and Chiang Kai-shek, however, prevented delegates attending from many areas in western Inner Mongolia.[22] The Convention concentrated on the task of drafting a new law recognising and specifying the powers of Mongol leagues and banners within the new national order.

[20] Sections of eastern Inner Mongolia had been incorporated within provincial territory with the establishment of the three Northeastern provinces in 1907. See Chapter Two.

[21] Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce (1928-1949)," p. 222.

[22] Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince*, p. 43.

This was eventually officially proclaimed by Nanjing in October 1931 as the "Organisational Law for Mongolian Leagues, Tribes, and Banners" (*Menggu meng bu qi zuzhi banfa*). The new law confirmed the powers of leagues and banners within their jurisdictional territories, and their position directly under central government and separate from provincial governments. The law also introduced modern representational elements into the *jasagh* system.[23]

Mongol Political Actors

Politically-active Inner Mongols were not one cohesive force and Inner Mongol political actors in the 1920s and into the 1930s were divided into different groupings determined along lines of status, education and ideology, and regional origins. Alliances also tended to change over time as different political figures and groups jostled for their particular agenda to be heard above the others. In addition those within the Mongol political elite were subject to pressure and incentives from Chinese authorities to be compliant and to work against more radical Mongol assertions of self-determination. The result was a changing and ever-shifting collection of political actors.

Banner princes remained important. By virtue of their positioning as hereditary leaders of the basic units of Mongol political administration, they were pivotal figures to both any future system of Mongol autonomy, and to Chinese co-option and control of banner populations. Most banner princes, including those of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues, were politically conservative and protective of their hereditary privileges. One figure in particular, the younger-generation prince of Sunid Right Banner in Shilin-gol League, Prince Demchugdongrub or Prince De (known in Chinese as *De wang*), began to emerge in the early 1930s as an influential political figure. Prince De had risen to the position of vice-head of Shilin-gol League in the mid-1920s and, by the mid-1930s through his leadership of the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement, had clearly become the pre-eminent Inner Mongol leader.

Two younger-generation Mongol intellectuals were also powerful figures in Mongol politics: Wu Heling and Bai Yunti. Both at different times occupied important central government and, in Bai Yunti's case, GMD party posts in the new post-1928 China.[24] By the 1930s there

[23] Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince*, pp. 44-45.

[24] Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince*, pp. 44-45.

were also significant numbers of educated Inner Mongol youths. The main producer of this group was the Mongolian-Tibetan School in Beiping. The largest proportion of students at this school (despite the name, Tibetan students were almost non-existent) through the 1920s and into the 1930s were either from Kharachin Banner in eastern Inner Mongolia or from the Tumed Banner.[25] These youths and young intellectuals ranged in political complexion from leftist—Tumed Mongols, for example, made up the most significant concentration of non-Han members of the Chinese Communist Party at the time—to broadly centrist, who were supportive of the GMD.[26] Finally to this should be added the non-modernising (what Atwood terms "vigilante") remnants of the Comintern-backed Inner Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party of the 1920s, who had retained support in the southwest of Yeke-juu league.[27]

The last element in Inner Mongol politics in the 1930s was the Lamaist Buddhist clergy. The role of the ninth Panchen Lama has already been alluded to and will be discussed further in a later section of this chapter, as will the other important Mongolian religious figure that participated in politics in the 1930s, the high-ranking incarnate Buddha, the seventh Jangiya Khutughtu based at the holy mountain of Wutai shan in Shanxi province.

Having surveyed the early 1930s in Mongol politics and introduced the main Inner Mongol political actors, it is prudent to pause. As this chapter is to concentrate upon the Suiyuan reaction to the Inner Mongol reassertion of claims to territory, this is not the place to give a detailed examination of the complexities of the Inner Mongol autonomy movement, such details are available in specific studies of

[25] See for example the table in *New Mongol Tibetan Gazetteer* for 1935 which shows that, of the 114 Mongol students at the school in that year, 38 were from Tumed Banner and 34 came from eastern Inner Mongolia. The majority of this last group were probably from Kharachin Banner. Huang Fensheng, *Meng Zang xin zhi* (Guangzhou: Guangzhou zhonghua shuju, 1938), pp. 607-610. The story was much the same in the 1920s. For a further discussion on tensions between these two regional groupings see Justin Tighe, "Revolution Beyond the Wall: Tumed Mongol Memoirs and the Construction of an Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Narrative 1919-1928" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, La Trobe University, 1993), pp. 81-84.

[26] See Tighe, "Revolution Beyond the Wall," passim.

[27] See Christopher Atwood, "National Party and Local Politics in Ordos, Inner Mongolia (1926-1935)" *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1992), pp. 1-30 and his *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911-1931* 2 vols. (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2002), for a discussion of the formation and fate of this party.

the movement and its participants by such scholars as Sechin Jagchid.[28] Instead this section on the re-emergence of Inner Mongolia will conclude with a short chronological overview of the main features of the Mongol autonomy movement.

The Inner Mongolian Autonomy Movement

Although valued for its strengthening of Mongol territoriality in the face of the new provinces, the new Organisational Law was not widely adopted by Mongol banners because it also introduced mild, but threatening, modifications to the system of *jasagh* or princely rule. As a result, most of Inner Mongolia's banner princes, including Prince De, opposed the new law. Prince De sent a telegram to Nanjing authorities in summer 1932 rejecting the law.[29]

A new phase began in July 1933 when Prince De journeyed to Beile-yin sume to discuss strategies for gaining Mongol autonomy with the *jasagh* prince of Darkhan Banner and the head of Ulaanchab league, Prince Yondongwangchug. The two then issued a telegram to Nanjing calling for "high-level autonomy" and the establishment of an Inner Mongolian autonomous government in the name of the banner princes of the three western leagues of Shilin-gol, Ulaanchab, and Yeke-juu—the three Inner Mongolian leagues that remained free of Japanese occupation—and called for princes and representatives from Inner Mongol banners to gather at Beile-yin sume to devise a government structure for Mongol autonomy.[30] The resulting series of meetings of as many as 70 delegates from these three leagues as well as Tumed Banner, the Chahar banners and others from further afield through October 1933 led to the drafting of the organisational principles for an Inner Mongolian Autonomous government.[31] Questions of territory and jurisdiction lay at the heart of proposed changes. The Mongol plan proposed a radical redrawing of the

[28] Different approaches to this subject can be found in Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince*; Michael Raymond Underdown, "Mongolian Nationalist Movements" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Melbourne, 1983); Wu-lan-shao-bu, "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce (1928-1949)" which contains some interesting discussion; and Lu Minghui, *Menggu "zizhi yundong" shiwei* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980) which should be used with caution but contains a valuable bibliography.

[29] Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 50.

[30] The vice-head of Yeke-juu league, Prince Altanwachir, also gave assent to these demands on behalf of the banners of his league. See Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 68.

[31] Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, pp. 74-78.

administrative map with the creation of a single autonomous government incorporating a trans-provincial swathe of Inner Mongolian territory which, in the geography of Chinese provincialism, included the territories of Chahar, Suiyuan and Ningxia provinces. Prince De demanded the abolition of the Chahar and Suiyuan provincial governments and their counties, and the transfer of power to a new Mongolian autonomous government.[32] Such a radical redrawing of territory and jurisdiction in favour of Mongols was unacceptable both to Nanjing and to local provincial authorities. Nanjing dispatched its envoys, Huang Shaoxiong and Zhao Pilian, to Beile-yin sume in November 1933 to negotiate a compromise. After protracted talks an agreement was reached. Following discussions with Fu Zuoyi and Yan Xishan (both of whom were opposed to Mongol autonomy) however, Huang and Zhao modified the content of the agreement without consulting the Mongol side.[33] This was then ratified in January 1934 by the GMD Central Political Committee. The modifications elicited Mongol protest and after further negotiations involving Wu Heling, the Central Political Committee quickly revised its earlier package into an eight-point set of principles and passed the "Provisional Outline for the Organisation of the Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council" in early March 1934.

Amid much fanfare the new Mongolian Local Autonomous Political Affairs Council (MPC) was established formally in Beile-yin sume in April 1934 with broad support from most quarters of Mongol polities.[34] Prince Yondongwangchug headed the new autonomous body and the vice-chairmen included the various heads and vice-heads of Shilin-gol, Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues, and Rong Xiang (the acting head of Tumed Banner), as well as Bai Yunti and Wu Heling and other important Mongol political figures.[35] Almost immediately the new Council experienced problems with funding. Apart from an initial injection of funds from the Nanjing government, promised recurring funds did not arrive and representatives of the MPC appealed to the central authorities with little result.[36] Only in November 1934 after Chiang Kai-shek's visit to Guisui was a small amount of money

[32] Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 83.
[33] Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 83.
[34] Jagchid argues that Beile-yin sume was selected as the headquarters because of its central location for all the Mongol banners remaining unoccupied by the Japanese at the time, and to avoid suspicion that the movement was monopolised by Shilin-gol league (from where Prince De came), see Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 68.
[35] Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 98 has a complete list.
[36] See *SRB*, 1935 passim.

actually disbursed. The other stipulated source of income was taxes. By early 1935, however, the MPC was in open conflict with the Suiyuan provincial government over entitlements to the collection of taxes on goods passing through Mongol banner territory within the jurisdiction of Suiyuan. Among such transit taxes was the lucrative tax on the movement of "special goods" (*te huo*), or opium, through the area. Indeed Beile-yin sume was an important point on the main trading route between Guisui and Xinjiang. In response to the Suiyuan government's rejection of any realistic sharing of revenue from these taxes, the MPC established its own customs posts at strategic locations and began to demand its own share of duties.[37]

In late April and early May 1935 the MPC held its second plenary session followed by the third plenary session in October of the same year. These sessions approved schemes for future development of Inner Mongolia, including plans for a network of model pastoral farms and educational expansion.[38] By the end of 1935, however, the MPC's ineffectuality was obvious. Frustrated with the role of Suiyuan in blocking the effective development of the MPC, and faced with the ever increasing spread of Japanese power in Inner Mongolia and Northern China, Prince De moved in the direction of the Japanese in the last half of 1935. February 1936 was a key turning point in the conflict between Suiyuan authorities and Prince De. In early February 1936 Prince De proclaimed the establishment of the General Headquarters of the Mongolian Army in his own Sunid Right Banner in Shilin-gol League. Assistance for this came from the Japanese military.[39] Later in the month a rebellion of MPC troops broke out at Beile-yin sume. The troops were largely from Tumed Banner and they absconded with weapons southwards to join Fu Zuoyi. Finally in the same month the Suiyuan government, amidst much fanfare, hosted the establishment of its own central-government sanctioned version of Mongol autonomy and rival of the MPC, the Suiyuan Provincial Mongol Political Council. The Shanxi-Suiyuan forces, it seems, had won. After this Prince De moved decisively towards the Japanese and the Mongolian Military Government was formally established in Dehua in Shilin-gol League in May 1936. The compromise of roughly two years before, Beile-yin sume's MPC, had been rendered irrelevant as both sides moved on. The GMD government finally abolished the

[37] Talks between Suiyuan and the MPC on this issue continued throughout 1935. See for example *SRB*, 5 November 1935.
[38] *SRB*, 22 May 1935; 24, 25, 28 November 1935.
[39] Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, pp. 138-141.

MPC in July 1936. The journalist and Mongolian scholar Owen Lattimore, writing in mid-1936, summarised the situation in these terms:

> By working on a few of these princes [i.e. some of the Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu league princes], the Suiyuan authorities succeeded in splitting the movement led by De Wang [Prince De]. Without openly opposing Mongol autonomy, they urged the recognition of one "autonomous council" for the Shilin-gol and Chahar Mongols in Chahar [province] and another for the Ulaanchab, Tumed and Ordos Mongols in Suiyuan. A Suiyuan Mongol Autonomous Political Council was thus eventually formed, the high officials of which were all nominees of the Suiyuan provincial authorities... The Nanjing Government finally indicated its abandonment of De Wang by recognising this Council, and appointing as Chinese political adviser to it Yan Xishan himself, the man who from the beginning had most openly obstructed De Wang's movement. As for De Wang, he has not "gone over" to Japan; he has been tied hand and foot and thrown to the Japanese.[40]

Finally, in late 1936, Fu Zuoyi occupied Beile-yin sume after a battle with Japanese and Japanese-backed troops of Prince De's army. Suiyuan's defeat of the Inner Mongol challenge and reassertion of its territorial claims now seemed complete.

Suiyuan And The Mongolian Political Council

Before the second half of 1933, when Prince De launched his calls for Mongol autonomy from Beile-yin sume, the Suiyuan government had done little directly to assert any new claims to Mongol banner territories or jurisdictions. Despite their membership of the Suiyuan Government Executive Committee, Prince Yondongwangchug and Prince Shagdurjab, the heads of the two leagues that comprised the majority of Suiyuan's territory, were seldom in attendance at the Committee's weekly meetings.[41] Nonetheless, Mongol political activism resulting in the Organisational Law of late 1931 gave Suiyuan authorities a more heightened awareness of the need to assert their interests and contest any decisions of the central government that

[40] Lattimore, "The Eclipse of Inner Mongolian Nationalism," p. 438. I have changed the transliteration of personal names and locations to conform with the *Hanyu Pinyin* system in this quote.

[41] See the weekly reports in the *Suiyuan Daily* of the Suiyuan government executive committee agendas and attendees in the period up to 1937. I am indebted to Mr. Bai Liaoyuan for this observation.

could be favourable to Mongols. Following the proclamation of this law, the Suiyuan provincial government telegraphed Nanjing stating its opposition and requesting a postponement of its implementation:

> We presume to point out that originally when Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Rehe, Chahar, Suiyuan, Xinjiang, Ningxia, and Qinghai were set up as provinces, the territories of the Mongol leagues and banners were included within [the jurisdiction of the new provinces]. For this reason jurisdictional sovereignty, no matter whether over Han or Mongol, belongs to the highest authority in the area [i.e. the province]... Now abruptly a committee system directly under the Executive Yuan [Cabinet] is to be introduced for leagues and banners and we fear the territories of the border provinces will be immediately broken up...[42]

The implications of the assertion that the Suiyuan government had a direct jurisdictional claim over banner affairs, however, had never really been acted upon.

Contesting Autonomy and Possession of Place

The *Suiyuan Daily* first reported on the Mongol autonomy meetings at Beile-yin sume in October 1933. Two aspects of Suiyuan attempts at combating Mongol autonomy become clear in the newspaper's almost daily coverage of events and issues connected with Mongol autonomy and local Mongol politics from then on. First, the paper was a platform for the contestation of Mongol claims to autonomy and the defence of the correctness of Suiyuan's hold on its territoriality and jurisdictional attributes. This was primarily an argumentative exercise carried out in editorials and opinion pieces and in reports of the orchestrated reaction of sectors of Suiyuan elite opinion to developments. Second, the *Suiyuan Daily*'s reports give a day-by-day insight into the array of co-optive and incorporative strategies used by Suiyuan authorities to contend with the Mongol challenge.

Arguments centering on several themes appeared in different guises in the paper from late 1933 into late 1935. Initially the *Suiyuan Daily* maintained that Mongol autonomy, as demanded by Prince De, would be impossible to achieve because Mongol lands were no longer wholly Mongol:

[42] Nanjing Second National Historical Archives File, no. 141-1245 quoted in Wu-lan-shao-bu "Zhongguo Guomindang de dui Meng zhengce (1928-1949)," p. 232.

> What the Mongols demand to be returned are the several provinces of the Northwest. However, apart from the territory under the control of the princes of banners and leagues wholly occupied by Mongols, [within this area] there are districts where [Chinese] administration has been established and where Han people flourish. The majority of territory under the control of the princes is wild and undeveloped [while the majority under the control of Chinese administration], through husbanding by the Han nation, has already entered the agricultural age and living conditions are much the same as for people in Hebei, Shanxi, and Shaanxi provinces. In this type of situation the reality will not permit the forcible excision of Chahar, Ningxia and Suiyuan provinces to form an independent territory completely ruled autonomously by Mongols.[43]

This account laid out the basis to Suiyuan's claims to its territoriality. Indeed it was a restatement in part of what Zhang Zhidong had argued fifty years before—Han migration was irreversible and it was on this foundation that Suiyuan existed (see Chapter Two for a discussion of Zhang Zhidong's changes to the status of Chinese administration).

Apart from being impossible, the demands coming from Beile yin sume were also portrayed as spurious and illegitimate. An important aspect of this argument centred on the unrepresentativeness of the Inner Mongol autonomy movement and the MPC. The *Suiyuan Daily* declared in a headline in mid-October 1933 that "Inner Mongol Autonomy is Too Ridiculous." Its "own reporter" highlighted the unrepresentative nature of those at Beile-yin sume calling for autonomy. Only a few banners from Ulaanchab and Shilin-gol leagues were represented; no representatives came from Yeke-juu League, and those at the meetings showed "little enthusiasm."[44] The narrowness of the Mongol autonomy movement was evident and Prince De had "arbitrarily"—that is, without consultation—sent off the telegram calling for Mongol autonomy. In actual fact it was a "solo act," a "one-legged opera."[45]

The *Suiyuan Daily* found the living proof of this unrepresentativeness in the person of Prince Altanwachir, the *jasagh* prince of Yeke-juu league's Khanggin Banner and the vice-chairman of the league. Because of the league's relative isolation from the rest of Inner Mongolia, the Suiyuan government had tighter control in Yeke-juu league and more sway over the actions of its banner princes. During 1934 and 1935 Prince Altanwachir, after initially coming out in support of the Mongol autonomy demands, became a familiar and

[43] "Zai lun Nei Meng zizhi," editorial *SRB*, 5 December 1933, p. 1.
[44] *SRB*, 15 October 1933.
[45] "Lun Nei Meng zizhi yundong," editorial *SRB*, 4 November 1933, p. 1.

regular symbol for Suiyuaners of Mongol non-participation in the MPC. His activities and statements were the most reported of all local Mongol princes during this period, and his importance was underscored by the occasional use of a portrait photo showing the handle-bar mustached prince dressed in a heavily bemedalled military uniform to accompany the reports of his activities. Almost invariably the only other subjects of photographs published in the *Suiyuan Daily* during this period were high-ranking Suiyuan government and military officials.[46] Predictably, the reports on Altanwachir emphasised his preoccupation with Suiyuan and Shanxi directed-tasks and the affairs of his own league and banner. Most importantly, although his position as vice-head of Yeke-juu league made him a vice-chairman of the MPC, the newspaper constantly represented Altanwachir as distancing himself from its affairs.[47] At the time of the establishment of the MPC in February 1934, for instance, Altanwachir was quoted as saying that he "didn't really take part in [Inner Mongol] autonomy." The headline for this report read "Yeke-juu League Does Not Participate in Autonomy."[48] Again in April 1935, at the time of the second plenary session of the MPC, the prince according to the newspaper, although busy with affairs in Beiping, initially promised to attend the plenary session but instead, despite the appeals of the Council, decided at the last minute to visit Taiyuan to consult with Yan Xishan and could not attend.[49] At the third plenary session in October of the same year, Altanwachir sent a representative because, he told the newspaper, he was busy working on his league's anti-Communist strategy.[50]

By 1935 Altanwachir was the most identifiable Mongol princely counterpoise to the MPC, but other Mongols could also serve the purpose of revealing the MPC's limitations. Although Prince De's movement enjoyed wide support among Tumed Mongols until well into 1935 and the well-known head of Tumed Banner, Rong Xiang, became an active office bearer in the MPC, still the *Suiyuan Daily* could observe in 1933 and 1934 that Tumed Mongols because of their

[46] See for example the picture in *SRB*, 22 April 1935.
[47] On this prince's initial support for the Inner Mongol autonomy movement see Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 68.
[48] *SRB*, 8 February 1934.
[49] The tension over Altanwachir's non-appearance is built up in the newspaper over several days. See *SRB*, 9, 12, 16 April 1935.
[50] *SRB*, 18 October 1935.

"sinification" (*hanhua*) and general inability to speak Mongolian did not fit in very well at Beile-yin sume.[51]

Another aspect of this argument about the unrepresentativeness of the MPC focused upon the main political actors at the heart of the MPC, the princes. "The Bailingmiao Conference is centred on Prince De," reported the *Suiyuan Daily* in November 1933. "It is supposed to be about 'high level autonomy' but in actual fact it has the presently-operating Mongol feudal system in its bones" and does not operate in the interests of the majority of Mongols. The MPC did not "reach the masses" and most Mongols "did not know what autonomy was." The MPC in this analysis brought nothing of value to Mongols and instead acted to prop up the feudal system.[52]

The Meaning of Autonomy

Besides being charged as unrepresentative, the very terms of Mongol autonomy were also contested. "In general I am in favour of Inner Mongols implementing autonomy," conceded the *Suiyuan Daily* editor in an editorial in early November 1933, "but it must be within the spirit of real autonomy."[53] Such an autonomy must be "regular" (*putong*), fit in with China's governmental system, and not conflict with national sovereignty. If the terms of autonomy for an Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region were not regular but "special," then this would cause future obstacles to national unity. Moreover "special" autonomy would place Mongols out of step with national developmental objectives and Inner Mongolia would be unable to leave behind its "non-modern situation" (*fei xiandai zhi zhuangtai*).[54] An editorial from the same period contrasted "local" or legitimate autonomy (*difang zizhi*) with the "feudal territorial autonomy" demanded by Prince De, which was tantamount to the type of autonomy held by Ireland in relation to England.[55] The Inner Mongolian autonomy movement in this regard was "similar to an independence movement."[56]

[51] See for example the reports on Beile-yin sume in *SRB*, 9 May 1934 and *SRB*, 9 June 1934.
[52] "Zai lun Nei Menggu zizhi," editorial *SRB*, 5 November 1933, p. 1.
[53] "Nei Meng zizhi ying zhuyi zhi shi," editorial *SRB*, 3 December 1933, p. 1.
[54] "Nei Meng zizhi ying zhuyi zhi shi," editorial *SRB*, 3 December 1933, p. 1.
[55] "Lun Nei Meng zizhi yundong," editorial *SRB*, 4 November 1933, p. 1.
[56] Zai lun Nei Menggu zizhi," editorial *SRB*, 5 November 1933, p. 1.

The term *zizhi*—self-rule, self-government, or autonomy—was already well-used in Chinese Republican political discourse in the period preceding Prince De's call for Mongol autonomy in 1933. In the late Qing and early Republic the word was associated with the establishment of gentry-run local assemblies. Yan Xishan had used the idea of self-government to push governmental control down to the level of the village. In the 1920s the word was associated with federalism and provincial self-rule, but also the fissiparous impulses of warlords.[57] More to the point for Mongols, the GMD's "Program of National Construction" (*jianguo da gang*) drafted by Sun Yatsen in 1924 called for "self-determination and self-rule" for all of China's "small and weak nationalities."[58] However, once it came to power, the GMD government under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek declared the nation to be in a "Period of Political Tutelage," and emphasised another aspect of Sun's program: the development of centralism and a national system of uniform or "unified" administration, decisively rejecting earlier glosses of the word. The term now become associated with the idea of the development of government below the level of the county, the building of administration in sub-county wards and sub-county townships which existed at different times during the 1930s, and the tutoring and disciplining of local populations in the skills of self-government.[59] Indeed "autonomy" was now about the spread of government and the linking of the local with the centre. In this vein, in the *General Survey of Suiyuan's Counties* of 1935 the term "autonomy" is used as one of a series of developmental indicators including education, finance, and "situation of [local] society" in descriptions of counties.[60]

It was such a theory that the *Suiyuan Daily*'s editor employed when he argued that there could be no allowance of "special" or

[57] For a brief overview of this see the discussion under the entry "Republican local autonomy: a brief history" in Xin Ping et al. (ed.), *Minguo shehui daguan* (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 99-104; also Philip Kuhn, "The Development of Local Government," in John King Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker (eds), *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 13, Republican China 1912-1949, Part 2 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 335-340.
[58] Sun Zhongshan, "Jianguo dagang," in *Guofu quanji*, 6 vols. (Taibei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1963), vol. 1, p. 751.
[59] Kuhn, "The Development of Local Government," pp. 344-352.
[60] Suiyuan sheng minzhong jiaoyuguan (ed.), *Suiyuan sheng fenxian diaocha gaiyao* (Guisui: 1934), passim. See also Fan Ku et al., *Suiyuan sheng difang zizhi jiangyi* (Guisui: Suiyuan shehui jiaoyusuo, 1931), which covers in its first four chapters "Essential knowledge for the masses," "An overview of self-rule in townships [*xiangzhen*]," "An overview of self-rule in sub-county districts [*xianqu*]," and "Important principles of self-rule."

non-standard versions of autonomy. "Inner Mongol autonomy must not affect central unified administration; the central [government] must still be able to apply the national system of unified administration to Inner Mongolia at any time." The basis of "national" or proper autonomy was the county and, although temporary allowance could be made for Inner Mongolia still not having established counties because of pastoral land, counties would be established in Inner Mongolia in the end. Establishing a "special region" (i.e. allowing Inner Mongol autonomy to become an exception) would preclude and obstruct the ultimate spread of unified administration in the area.[61] Such a position aimed not only at the defence of Suiyuan in its present form, but also tied into the logic of Suiyuan's future development. The major programs of construction and development in Suiyuan, and indeed the discourse of the Chinese Northwest which underpinned it, were premised upon the future expansion of Suiyuan's population and the growth in counties. As a former chairman of Suiyuan Province, Li Peiji, had expressed it in 1931, "from villages, counties develop and from counties, the province develops."[62] Growth in population and in county administration was both a necessary cause and a result of development. In this sense, then, demands for Mongol autonomy precluded the further development of Suiyuan.

Development and not autonomy, it could also be argued, was what the Mongols of Suiyuan needed the most. The calls by Inner Mongols for autonomy, according to this line of argument, were misconceived and irresponsible. Mongol efforts, announced the editor of the *Suiyuan Daily*, should instead be focused on dragging Inner Mongolia out of its backwardness and undevelopment. Indeed, the editor argued, it was not Mongol politicians like Prince De, but Suiyuan authorities that had the true interests of Mongols within its territory at heart. The demands for autonomy were distracting and hindered the most important task at hand:

> As far as Suiyuan goes, there is not a day that passes when authorities do not expend the greatest energy and effort at improving the treatment of Mongols and promoting their livelihood. And if there were not these demands for Mongol autonomy I know for certain that [Suiyuan] authorities, proceeding systematically and ever forward in plans for the welfare of Mongols, would have even more achievements as proof [of this].[63]

[61] "Nei Meng zizhi zhi yuanze," editorial *SRB*, 12 February 1934, p. 1.
[62] Preface by Li Peiji in Fan Ku et al., *Suiyuan sheng difang zizhi jiangyi*, p. 2.
[63] Zai lun Nei Menggu zizhi," editorial *SRB*, 5 November 1933, p. 1.

According to some, Mongols did not really deserve autonomy and special treatment and the central government didn't properly understand the situation in border areas. The "Suiyuan Legal Organisations" (*Suiyuan fatuan*, a group of officially-recognised organisations representing important sectors of local society such as the Suiyuan Agricultural Association and the Guisui Chamber of Commerce) in their open submission to the central government team sent to negotiate with Prince De in November 1933 stressed the fact that they "had been born and bred in Suiyuan and so had co-existed with Mongols over a long period of time and had an accurate understanding of the Inner Mongolian situation."[64] The implication was that the central government was not in possession of all the facts and was being too accommodating to Mongol demands. Mongols, in the Organisations' opinion, were a privileged minority compared to the majority Han population of Suiyuan, they amounted to one-thirteenth of the population and yet occupied over half the territory of Suiyuan. Because of the sparseness of population in the Mongol banners, argued the Organisations, they were less affected by banditry than the counties of Suiyuan. Some were recipients of taxes and rents from Han peasants, and they often received superior treatment to local Han.[65] Although being privileged compared to local Han Suiyuaners, continued the Organisations, the Mongol political and social system was backward and feudal. Banners and leagues were totally autocratic and corrupt to the highest extreme and many Mongols, "led the lives of slaves." At the same time 170,000 Han Chinese were living in Mongol banners and many had intermarried with Mongols. In view then of the realities of this situation, the Organisations concluded, if autonomy was to be granted, then it should be modern Republican-style autonomy exercised within banners that were directly under the control of Suiyuan Province.[66]

[64] Suiyuan ge fatuan dui Nei Meng zizhi jianyi," serialised in *SRB*, 4-7 November 1933, part 1, *SRB*, 4 November 1933.
[65] Suiyuan ge fatuan dui Nei Meng zizhi jianyi," part 1, *SRB*, 4 November 1933.
Mongols, the submission claimed, unlike Han did not pay transit taxes on goods for their own use and, in contrast to counties, banner militias were often not charged for ammunition provided by the Suiyuan provincial government.
[66] Suiyuan ge fatuan dui Nei Meng zizhi jianyi," part 4, *SRB*, 7 November 1933.

The Mongol Political Council's Challenge over Transit Duties

In the early part of 1935 conflict broke out between Suiyuan and the MPC over Mongol entitlements to transit taxes and duties collected by the Suiyuan government on goods moving through Mongol banner land and over the MPC's unilateral decision to establish its own customs posts. In response, the *Suiyuan Daily* launched a new series of arguments contesting Mongol autonomy and Mongol actions, and clarifying and defending Suiyuan's claims to jurisdiction and governance within its territory. The terms of the conflict reveal much about the ultimate grounds for Suiyuan's territoriality as it was perceived in 1935 and the complexities of jurisdiction and possession of place with which Suiyuan authorities were now dealing.

The paper reported the complaint of local chambers of commerce that the MPC customs posts were threatening the Northwestern trade. Indeed, because of the Mongol imposition of duties, trade with Xinjiang had slowed and the "lifeblood of two million Suiyuaners had been cut."[67] Moreover, at the very time when the central government was getting rid of miscellaneous taxes, the MPC was going against government policy and adding to them.[68] However, the real issue was deeper than this. Several reports in the *Suiyuan Daily* accused the MPC of overstepping the boundaries of its autonomy. The MPC customs posts were like "international customs posts," the implication being that the tax issue was part of a strategy by the MPC and Prince De to move ever closer towards independence. The MPC could also be accused of overstepping its authority by "interfering in national defence." This was a reference to MPC demands that the Suiyuan government withdraw its troops from Heishatu in the northwest of Ulaanchab league in Urad Banner land (the location was an important point along the trade route with Xinjiang, see Map 8). In spite of the MPC's protests to the contrary, the Suiyuan government claimed that the presence of Wang Jingguo's 70[th] battalion troops in this area was unconnected to the tax conflict, and that they had been moved there purely for reasons of "national defence."[69]

The Mongol challenge forced Suiyuan's defenders—in this case the "Suiyuan Legal Organisations"—to restate the legitimacy of Suiyuan's claims to territory and sovereignty. The *Suiyuan Daily* printed their

[67] *SRB*, 12 March 1935.
[68] *SRB*, 12 March 1935.
[69] The commander of these troops cited banditry and communist activity as the reason for his troops' presence in the area. See *SRB*, 14 March 1935.

lengthy protest in its entirety. The document emphasised two points. It began by refuting Prince De's assertion that Suiyuan and other provinces in Inner Mongolia were based on the principle of "borrowing of land to support the [Han] population" (*jiedi yangmin*). Prince De, ran the argument, was turning his back on the principles of Mongol autonomy by asserting the idea that Mongol land had been only on loan to the Chinese and should be returned. "If Prince De intends by this statement that China has borrowed Mongol land to support its people... then [he is arguing] that Mongol banner territory is not Chinese territory, and this type of language in the context of national unity is absurd."[70] Those presenting the Organisations' argument then isolated what they determined to be the crux of the issue: in the process of land reclamation, was Mongol land taken or was it freely given? The obvious answer to this question according to the Organisations was the latter: Mongols had "voluntarily" given over their land, and thus Suiyuan's territoriality was not based upon the forceful dispossession of Mongols but on the legitimate transfer of land from Mongol to Han. The second point reinforced this. The Organisations reminded the MPC that the terms of autonomy agreed between those at Beile-yin sume and the central government stipulated that the jurisdictional powers of leagues and banners should remain "as before" (*yi lu zhao jiu*). This phrase "as before," they argued, clearly meant the situation as existed immediately before the creation of the MPC, a point in time when the province of Suiyuan already existed. Thus, by the terms of the agreement, the units of Mongol political administration could not increase their jurisdictional powers at the expense of Suiyuan province. The MPC was "one of the organs of local autonomy under the central government and not an independent country."[71] According to the Organisations, Mongols by their claims and actions were trying to recover a situation which had long since passed and which, given the settlement of Han and the establishment of Chinese administration (including Suiyuan provincial administration), was ultimately irrecoverable. The provincial territories of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Ningxia could no longer be thought of as ultimately Mongol land. Indeed this aspect of the Mongol autonomy argument was particularly ridiculous. If this claim were accepted, maintained the Organisations, then it could be logically extended to a Mongol claim over the whole of China or even parts of

[70] *SRB*, 29 March 1935.
[71] *SRB*, 29 March 1935.

Europe because once, very long ago under Chinggis Khan, Mongols had ruled in both places.[72] Possession of place had shifted into Suiyuan hands.

Co-option and Incorporation of Mongols

The appearance of the MPC was a rude interruption to the already heightened awareness of Suiyuan authorities to the need to more fully integrate and co-opt Mongols within the developing patterns of Suiyuan in the early 1930s. This was particularly motivated after the Mukden Incident by a fear of Mongols being attracted to the Japanese.[73] Thus Suiyuan authorities had already developed co-option strategies even before the gathering of princes at Beile-yin sume in the second half of 1933. Shi Huayan's trip to meet the Panchen Lama at Beile-yin sume in July 1932, which was examined at the start of this chapter, was a part of this.

The Nanjing government after 1931 through the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission enlisted the aid of high ranking figures within Lamaist Buddhism in its strategy of propagandising the cause of patriotism and national unity to Mongols in the face of the Japanese. To this end both the Panchen Lama and the Jangiya Khutughtu were given official positions as "propagandists" (*xuanhua shi*) of national unity in border areas.[74] The great respect with which these religious figures were held among Mongols made them important agents for national unity. The Suiyuan provincial government also facilitated this role and actively courted these two figures. As has been mentioned, great ceremony surrounded the visit of the Panchen Lama to Guisui in October 1932 with an official welcome and banquet hosted by Chairman Fu. Again in February 1933 the Panchen Lama visited Guisui and was greeted with much fanfare on his way to Beile-yin sume. In May the Suiyuan government announced that the Panchen Lama would have an office in Guisui and this was established in the following month in the same compound as the Ulaanchab and

[72] *SRB*, 29 March 1935.
[73] See for example *SRB*, 24 July 1932.
[74] The Nanjing government appointed the Jangiya Khutughtu as "Propagandist to Mongol Banners" (*Meng qi xuanhua shi*) in April 1932 see Zhu Hanguo, *Nanjing guomin zhengfu jishi* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1993), p. 246. The Panchen Lama was appointed "Propagandist to the Western Borders" (*xichui xuanhua shi*) in the same year.

Yeke-juu Thirteen Banners Federation Office.[75] The Suiyuan government contributed only a nominal amount of money for the running of the Panchen's office, but announced the concession that the many Mongol gifts of various religious items for the Panchen would not be taxed.[76] The Jangiya Khutughtu and his representatives were also encouraged to travel in Mongol areas and "make propaganda" for national unity.[77] The Suiyuan government was also involved with locally-based clergy. In 1933 the head of the Ulaanchab-Yeke-juu Thirteen Banners Federation Office was the incarnate Buddha, the A-qi-er Khutughtu, from a monastery in Prince Altanwachir's Khanggin Banner in the Ordos.[78]

By the time of the autonomy movement Suiyuan had a series of official and semi-official governmental links and agencies aimed broadly at incorporating Mongols. As has already been described, the heads of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues occupied representative positions on the Suiyuan Government Executive Committee. However, because of distance and their responsibilities for their own league and banner affairs, the two princes rarely if ever attended the regular executive committee meetings held in Guisui. This Mongol representation alongside the heads of various provincial governmental departments on this committee was more symbolic than substantive, but the symbolism was essential for Suiyuan's claims to represent Mongols. By 1934 the Suiyuan Government Secretariat had a "Mongol Affairs Office," though it is unclear when this was established.[79] The creation of the Ulaanchab-Yeke-juu Thirteen Banners Federation has been discussed in the previous chapter A report in the *Suiyuan Daily* in mid-1933 suggests that there was a regularised system of at least some banners having representatives stationed in Guisui on half-yearly rotations.[80] This became more important after the establishment of the MPC, and in June 1934 the Suiyuan government announced that the Federation would move into a new purpose-built multi-storey building to function as offices as well as accommodation for visiting Mongol princes.[81] The Federation ceased to exist after the establishment of the Suiyuan Mongol Council in February 1936 (see below).

[75] *SRB*, 3 May 1933.
[76] *SRB*, 3 May 1933.
[77] See for example *SRB*, 1 June 1933.
[78] *SRB*, 28 August 1933 This is the Chinese transliteration of the lama's name.
[79] See report of the activities of the head of this office in *SRB*, 28 December, 1934.
[80] *SRB*, 18 August 1933.
[81] *SRB*, 2 June 1934.

The final organization to be established was the Leagues and Banners GMD Party Committee (*mengqi daugweihui*) under the Suiyuan Provincial GMD organisation in April 1933. According to the *Suiyuan Daily*, this was to be funded with 1,000 *yuan* a month from the provincial government.[82] The new committee busied itself surveying Mongol banners and in making pronouncements on the priorities in future policy towards Suiyuan's Mongols. Two aspects were emphasised. First, as He Yunzhang, one of the organising members of the new Leagues and Banners Party Committee, argued in an address to the local GMD in late April 1933, the priority in policy was building friendship between Han and Mongols in order to withstand the threat of the Japanese and Soviet Russia.[83] Economic development and education were also important. Roughly four months later another member of the Leagues and Banners Party Committee, Jing Tianlu, presented to the same forum an account of a survey trip he had recently made in Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues. The trip was "like entering another world" and the greatest obstacle to change was the princely system of banner government, which had not changed since the days of the old Qing dynasty and was mired in "feudalism." The lack of progress of Mongols "is our great shame" and the only solution was education.[84]

The situation became more complex after the establishment of the MPC. The Suiyuan government now had to pursue its co-option and incorporation strategies with even greater vigor while, at the same time, subverting the activities of the MPC and representing itself as retaining leadership of Mongol affairs in competition to the MPC.

In the lead-up period to the establishment of the MPC, the *Suiyuan Daily* proudly announced that the Suiyuan government, in a gesture of "extraordinary concern" for Mongols, unbidden and without charge, had sent a group of army doctors to Beile-yin sume to stem an outbreak of small-pox. Unfortunately, the gesture was unsuccessful. Mongols, according to the newspaper, were mistrustful of the treatment. A doctor attributed this to Mongol backwardness and superstition and the medical team returned to Guisui.[85] Through 1934 the *Suiyuan Daily* reported on several gestures of assistance from the Suiyuan government or military towards the new MPC. Fu Zuoyi, for

[82] *SRB*, 4 May 1933.
[83] *SRB*, 23 May 1933.
[84] *SRB*, 22 August 1933.
[85] Several reports in the paper followed the development of this story see *SRB*, 8, 13, 22 March 1934. The quote comes from the report of 13 March 1934.

instance, again unbidden, provided armed escorts for Mongol leaders traveling from Guisui to Beile-yin sume for the founding of the MPC in April. After the establishment of the Council a *Suiyuan Daily* editorial boasted:

> The establishment of the MPC according to plan... symbolises the spirit of cooperation between Mongol and Han... Suiyuan authorities acting on their responsibility for the area, expended all efforts to mop up and exterminate bandits so that the route between Suiyuan [i.e. the provincial capital] and Bailingmiao was clear... to ensure the punctual commencement of the founding meeting of the MPC.[86]

In this peripheral way, Suiyuan authorities could claim to have assisted in the creation of the MPC.

Several things were implicit in such actions. There was clearly a desire to intimidate Mongols with Suiyuan's military strength, but also an attempt to subvert the independence of the MPC and demonstrate its dependence on Suiyuan. The *Suiyuan Daily's* reports on the MPC regularly highlighted the reliance of the MPC at Beile-yin sume on Suiyuan. Supplies of everything from petrol, weapons and ammunition to winter coats and food all had to either come through or be procured in Guisui. Visitors too also had to pass through the provincial gateway and the newspaper reported on such shipments and visits in minute detail.[87] The *Suiyuan Daily* also intently followed the financial troubles of the MPC and its representations to an unresponsive central government for funding through 1934. A journalist visited Beile-yin sume in July 1934 and noted that, without proper funding, nothing had been achieved at the temple apart from some very amateur mining of coal. He also found the conditions harsh. There was no proper medical care and a relative of the MPC chairman Prince Yondongwangchug had died a lingering death as a result. Troops, moreover, did not wear proper uniforms. Such representations of the dependence of the MPC on Suiyuan, and indeed its ultimate unviability, fitted in well with standard representations of Mongols as backward and unable to handle their own affairs.[88]

The Suiyuan government also attempted to dominate the MPC and represent itself as leading the Inner Mongol political agenda through the two "Chinese-Mongol Goodwill Meetings" (*Han Meng lianhuanhui*) which it hosted in Guisui. The first of these followed the

[86] "Mengzhenghui chengli yihou ganyan," editorial *SRB*, 26 April 1934 p. 1.
[87] *SRB*, 9 June 1934.
[88] *SRB*, 9 June 1934.

Mongol achievement of agreement on autonomy with central authorities in November 1933, and the second was after the second plenary session of the MPC in late May/early June 1935. Fu Zuoyi also hosted a smaller-scale reception for Mongol princes after the MPC's third plenary session in November 1935.

During these meetings Guisui was dominated by welcoming ceremonies, banquets at the Suiyuan Hotel and local restaurants, speeches, tours of Guisui's important sights, entertainment performances, military inspections, and the ostentatious distribution of gifts to Mongol princes. The *Suiyuan Daily* portrayed Suiyuan authorities as stretching themselves to the limits logistically, rhetorically, and gastronomically at these elaborate meetings in an orgy of hospitality towards Mongol princes. The first goodwill meeting, according to the *Daily*, was for the purpose of "taking to a further point the work of the practical linking of feelings [towards national unity]." Important points around town were hung with banners emblazoned with the words "Nationalities of the Nation Unite to Revive the Chinese Republic" and other slogans emphasising national unity.[89] Moreover, explained the newspaper, what Suiyuan was doing eclipsed the size of the recent gathering of Mongol princes at Beile-yin sume to negotiate the terms of autonomy with the central government's negotiation team:

> Because the number of Mongol princes who took part in events at Bailingmiao was not great, this meeting [the *lianhuanhui*] will enable the great majority of Mongol princes to meet with Huang [Shaoxiong, the leading representative of the central government's team] and report their views to him.[90]

Such commentary reveals the Suiyuan government as creating a role for itself in the process of defining the terms of Mongol autonomy. Although consulted by Huang, Suiyuan officials had of course not been official participants in the negotiations at Beile-yin sume. Indeed Suiyuan was attempting to regain control of the Mongol agenda, to publicly assert leadership, and to shift the focus from Mongol gains which challenged Suiyuan's territoriality to an emphasis upon the meetings between Huang and Mongols as being a great achievement for "national unity."[91]

[89] *SRB*, 26 November 1933.
[90] *SRB*, 27 November 1933.
[91] *SRB*, 27 November 1933.

The final example of co-option that is evident from reports in the *Suiyuan Daily* was Suiyuan's direct intervention in banner affairs. In August 1932 the newspaper reported that, at the request of the central government, Suiyuan authorities were investigating a series of recent political assassinations in Juungar Banner. By the end of September the following year, according to the paper, Suiyuan authorities had devised a plan to resolve political differences within the Banner.[92] In February 1935, the Suiyuan government claimed to have resolved a conflict between Uushin and Jasagh banners. Several months later the Suiyuan government intervened on the side of Prince Shirabdorji in a dispute over succession to the position of *jasagh* in the Urad Front Banner. The MPC had opposed the confirmation of Shirabdorji's appointment. In September 1935 the *Suiyuan Daily* printed an open telegram from the prince accusing the MPC of creating strife in the Banner. By this stage Shanxi/Suiyuan troops were locked in a standoff with MPC troops at the Banner.[93] In November 1935 the GMD central government intervened and established an uneasy resolution of the conflict; however, tensions continued to simmer on into 1937.[94]

The different facets of Suiyuan governmental attempts to control and channel Mongol politics, to subvert and to compete with the MPC, to assert a claim to a leading position in Mongol affairs, and to encompass the totality of Mongol aspirations is revealed in the day-by-day chronicle of this Suiyuan government-controlled newspaper. Discourse surrounding Suiyuan had changed fundamentally in the space of half a decade. By late 1935 the question of the "Mongolness" of Suiyuan's territory was a central preoccupation of Suiyuan's authorities as it had never been at the start of the decade. A new element now appeared which acted to force the issue—the emergence of Communism and the Communist threat.

The Final Incorporation? The Communist Threat and the Establishment of the Suiyuan Mongol Political Council

By early 1935 Communist guerrillas had established two provisional soviet governments in the northern areas of Shaanxi province contiguous or close to the border with Suiyuan and the banners of

[92] *SRB*, 16 August 1932; 30 September 1933.
[93] See *SRB*, 3-6 September 1935.
[94] *SRB*, 17 November 1935; Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, pp. 112-113.

southern Yeke-juu league. Various fragments of the Chinese Communist Party's armies arrived in northern Shaanxi in late 1935 and early 1936, where they linked up with local Communists and reinforced northern Shaanxi as a Communist stronghold.[95] Small cells of underground Communists had been active in Baotou too and in towns on the Tumed plain from the late 1920s.[96] By this time also the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement had gained the attention of the Chinese Communists and in December 1935 Mao Zedong, now firmly established as the leader of the CCP, issued an appeal to the people of Inner Mongolia invoking Chinggis Khan and unity of all peoples in fighting against the Japanese: "the people of Inner Mongolia can... prevent the extermination of their nation, embark on the path of national revival, and obtain the freedom and independence enjoyed by such peoples as those of Turkey, Poland, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus." The proclamation also promised that the Communists would abolish the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan and Ningxia and return the territory to the "people of Inner Mongolia."[97]

The response in Suiyuan to the growth of the Communists in northern Shaanxi followed in step with Yan Xishan. As early as July 1935 Yan had announced a policy of anti-Communism and called for the establishment of local level anti-Communist militias and a program of "land to the tiller."[98] In August Yan hosted a conference in Taiyuan on the prevention of Communism and in late September a Suiyuan Communist Prevention Conference (*Suiyuan fanggong huiyi*) was established.[99] The prevention of Communism now became a major new part of Suiyuan governmental policy and strategy towards Mongols. In public utterance, as captured in the *Suiyuan Daily*, it replaced the Japanese threat. The Suiyuan government used the proximity of the Ordos to the Communist base in Northern Shaanxi and, later and more tenuously, the proximity of Ulaanchab to the Communism of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, to demand greater

[95] Pauline Keating, *Two Revolutions. Village Reconstruction and the Cooperative Movement in Northern Shaanxi, 1934-1945* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 14.

[96] Hao Weimin (ed.), *Nei Menggu geming shi* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1997), pp. 243-256, 279-282

[97] "Zhonghua suwei'ai zhongyang zhengfu dui Nei Menggu renmin xuanyan," 20 December, 1935, in Zhonggong Nei Menggu zizhiqu weiyuanhui tongzhan bu / Nei Menggu zizhiqu dang'anguan (ed.), *Nei Menggu tongzhan shi dangan shiliao xuanbian* (Internal Circulation Publication, 1987), vol. 1, p. 98.

[98] Zhu Hanguo, *Nanjing guomin zhengfu jishi*, pp. 443.

[99] *SRB*, 24 September 1935.

coordination between Mongol banners within Suiyuan's provincial boundaries. The end result of this maneuver was the establishment, in the name of anti-Communism, of a new Mongol Autonomy Council to rival the MPC, and to reinforce Suiyuan's territoriality. This, was the Suiyuan Provincial Mongol Leagues and Banners Local Autonomy Political Affairs Council (*Suiyuan sheng jingnei Menggu ge meng qi difang zizhi zhengwu weiyuanhui*, Suiyuan Mongol Political Council or SMPC) founded in Guisui in February 1936.

The Suiyuan government's trump card in the face of the MPC through 1934 and early 1935 had been its ability to play upon the ties between the provincial government and local Mongol banner princes. Assembling the princes from Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab in Guisui at the Han-Mongol Goodwill Conferences was a part of this. Through this period too, individual princes either came to Guisui in person or sent representatives to confer with Fu Zuoyi over banner matters.[100] Reports of these comings and goings in the *Suiyuan Daily* presented a picture of the ultimate dependence of banners in Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues not on the MPC, but on the political authority of Guisui. As portrayed in the *Suiyuan Daily*, the journeys of banner princes to Guisui, each identified by a Chinese contraction of his Mongol name (e.g. *A wang* or Prince A for Altanwachir, the *jasagh* of Khanggin Banner; and *Kang wang* or Prince Kang for Khangdadorji, the *jasagh* of Dalad Banner) and each representing a segmented area of Mongol territory and population, symbolised the continuing connection of Suiyuan governmental authority to its Mongol space. A major part of the Suiyuan government's strategy in combating the MPC concentrated on emphasising the ultimate link between each of the thirteen banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues and Suiyuan government authority.

The *Suiyuan Daily*'s attention shifted particularly in the later months of 1935 to concentrate on the efforts of Yan Xishan and the Suiyuan government to enlist banner princes in the fight against Communism. In the context of a report on the second meeting of the newly formed Suiyuan Communist Prevention Conference in early October, the paper published Fu Zuoyi's appeal to the heads of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues to exercise their military powers as heads in charge of league "peace preservation" to guard against the

[100] Of all the jasagh princes from the two leagues, Altanwachir was the most frequent visitor to Guisui during this period, followed by Prince Shagdurjab, the head of Yeke-juu league. See *SRB*, through 1934 and 1935.

Communist threat. "There have been regulations long in existence for the unified command of the military affairs of the banners. However, because banners are usually peaceful, the militias of each of the banners have very little contact among each other." Now Fu Zuoyi called upon Prince Shagdurjab in particular as the head of peace preservation in Yeke-juu league

> [t]o exercise his powers, to unify military command [of the banners within Yeke-juu], and to bring about close contact between each of the banners... Each *jasagh* prince should exercise the military role of the leader of a brigade [made up of soldiers from his banner] and the league head. As head also of peace preservation for the league, he should have complete responsibility for the command [of this unified force]. After Yeke-juu league has implemented this system of united prevention, anti-bandit forces will become strengthened ...and it will be difficult for the Communist bandits to infiltrate across league borders.[101]

Here Fu was reviving an older strategy from before the establishment of the MPC: the incorporation of Suiyuan's leagues within a system of military command. To this end the Ulaanchab League head, Prince Yondongwangchug, was appointed head of Ulaanchab peace preservation affairs in May 1933.[102] The significance of this post at the time, as the appeal above suggests, was minimal; now in the face of the Communist threat, it took on renewed significance.

The strategy became clearer in the following month. In late October 1935, the *Suiyuan Daily* announced that in response to Fu Zuoyi's appeal "Yeke-juu League authorities" had appointed Prince Khangdadorji of Dalad Banner to the position of "general commander of the league's anti-Communist force." Khangdadorji would command troops from all seven of the league's banners and liaise with "provincial" troops (i.e. Shi Huayan's troops) stationed in western Suiyuan. He had visited Fu Zuoyi to work out a coordinated plan and was on his way home.[103] In November the newspaper reported that Khangdadorji had resigned his position as head of the MPC's office in Baotou owing to lack of funds, but also to concentrate his efforts on the battle against Communism.[104] As we have noted, true to his earlier form in non-cooperation with the MPC, Prince Altanwachir, who had already gained the title of Vice-Commander of the West Baotou Route Patrol (*Baoxi hulu fusiling*), gave much the same reason to the paper to

[101] *SRB*, 6 October 1935.
[102] *SRB*, 5 May 1933.
[103] *SRB*, 26 October 1935.
[104] *SRB*, 29 November 1935.

excuse his non-attendance at the MPC's third plenum in the previous month.[105] Finally in late November and December 1935 reports in the *Suiyuan Daily* show Suiyuan authorities at the centre of a flurry of princely anti-Communist activity: princes from Wang and Otog banners of Yeke-juu league were in Guisui to consult with Fu over anti-Communist measures, Prince Ringchinsengge from Ulaanchab's middle Urad Banner had come via Guisui on his way to Taiyuan to report on his banner's strategy against Communism, and Yan Xishan appointed Prince Pandeigungchab of Dorben Keukhed Banner to the position of Mongol Banners Bandit Suppression Commander (*Meng qi jiao fei siling*).[106] From late 1935 rising in intensity through January 1936, reports of the movements of banner princes back and forth between their banners and Guisui and sometimes via Guisui to Taiyuan "to discuss Communist prevention" or to "consult Chairman Fu" are frequent in the *Suiyuan Daily*.

By the end of 1935 the Suiyuan government, backed by Yan Xishan, was intent upon its strategy. In early January 1936 the *Suiyuan Daily* announced that the seven banners of Yeke-juu would establish an anti-Communist general headquarters in Baotou and hold an anti-Communist conference.[107] The final step in the process came later in January when the *Suiyuan Daily* announced that the SMPC would be established.[108] This was based on the same rationale as had been expressed in late 1935. In the face of the threat of infiltration from Communists from northern Shaanxi there was a need for the banners of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab to unite their strength. However, this time, the announcement mentioned the shortcomings of the MPC at Beile-yin sume:

> In 1934 the central government permitted the Mongol Autonomy Measures. These brought together under the one autonomous political affairs council [i.e. the MPC], the leagues and banners of Shilin-gol, Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu and [various] other banners. The jurisdictional territory of this council is vast, and communications are hampered and blocked... It is especially difficult for [this council] to deal with [the present threat from Communism]. Each league should separately form an autonomous council with each of the *jasagh* princes of the league belonging as members.[109]

[105] *SRB*, 26 October 1935.
[106] See various reports, *SRB*, 21 November, 14, 27, December 1935.
[107] *SRB*, 7 January 1936.
[108] *SRB*, 31 January 1936.
[109] "Suijing Mengzhenghui rinei jike chengli," *SRB*, 31 January 1936, editorial, p. 1.

Times had changed, and Suiyuan authorities now added the charge of being ineffective in dealing with security to the many other charges they had leveled at the MPC since its establishment. According to the *Suiyuan Daily*, "creation of a Mongol political council within Suiyuan territorial boundaries came from the voluntary demands of each of the banner princes and the national government saw this as having benefits for both the prevention of Communism and self-defense."[110] Clearly, however, these "voluntary demands" had been coordinated by Guisui.[111] By this maneuver the Suiyuan government reshaped the Mongolian political map and created a new council whose territory was exactly co-extensive with Suiyuan provincial territory. Suiyuan's authorities had pushed for such a solution from the beginning of the autonomy movement at Beile-yin sume.

The new council was responsible for "local autonomy affairs within the banners of Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues, the Guihua Tumed Banner," and what were now termed the "Eastern Suiyuan Five-County Right Flank Four Banners." These were the four banners of the Chahar right flank which were coextensive with the five counties that Suiyuan had gained from the Chahar Special Region after both regions became provinces in 1929. These banners had very small populations and were under Chahar eight banner administration. Up until the end of 1935 there had been no mention of these four banners in the newspaper. Suddenly in early January 1936, at the same time as the flurry of visits to Guisui from the princes of Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues, the *Daily* reported the arrival in Guisui of the controllers of two of these banners, and the plans to open a representative office for the four banners in Guisui. In the words of the Controller of the Red Banner:

> I have arrived in Guisui and reported all to Chairman Fu and asked for instructions. Although the four banners of the Chahar left flank in name belong to the Cha[har eight banners], because of geography they fall completely within the territory of Suiyuan province. The five counties of the Suidong [i.e. east Suiyuan] and the four banners interact like lips to teeth. There is intermarriage between Han and Mongols, and sentiments are extremely good. Most of the Mongols of the four banners are sinified in customs and practices...[112]

With the absorption of these banners within the SMPC, the last piece of Suiyuan's Mongol territorial jigsaw fell into place.

The symbolism of place was important in the establishment of the new Council. In direct rivalry to the political importance that the location of Beile-yin sume had acquired for Mongol autonomy, the new SMPC was to have its headquarters at Ejin Horo in Yeke-juu league. This site was celebrated as the traditional location of Chinggis Khan's burial and was of great ceremonial significance for Mongols. Large numbers of Mongols attended annual ceremonies held at this place on Chinggis Khan's putative birthday.[113] By the 1930s, apart from Beile-yin sume, Ejin Horo was the most significant Mongol site in western Inner Mongolia. Ultimately, however, the SMPC never moved its headquarters beyond Guisui and in April 1937, in a show of confidence in the completeness of their incorporation of Mongol space, Suiyuan authorities moved the annual celebration from Ejin Horo to Guisui. Fu Zuoyi cited the declining numbers that had attended the ceremony in recent years as the reason for the move and praised Chinggis Khan as the great unifier of the Chinese nation [*zhonghua minzu*] to the assembled audience of "representatives from all sectors of Suiyuan and Mongol banner organs."[114]

Capturing Beile-yin sume

Polities in the period after Prince De's formation of the Mongolian Military Government based at Dehua in May 1936 was particularly

[110] "Suijing Mengzhenghui rinei jike chengli," *SRB*, 31 January 1936, editorial, p. 1.

[111] Jagchid argues that "Fu Zuoyi...had sent a false telegram in the names of the princes of the Ulaanchab and Yekejuu leagues. This false telegram petitioned Chiang Kai-shek, then head of the executive Yuan, for permission to establish a Mongolian autonomous organisation in the territory of Suiyuan" see Jagchid, *Last Mongol Prince*, p. 121. The *Sui Meng jiyao*, the official account of the SMPC published in 1936, gives the contents of not one but two petitionary telegrams: one each from Ulaanchab and Yeke-juu leagues. They are both dated October 1935. The fact that the *Suiyuan Daily* does not report on the telegrams seems to support Jagchid's general assertion. See Chen Yujia, *Sui Meng jiyao* (No publication details, 1936), pp. 201-202.

[112] *SRB*, 19 January 1936.

[113] See report in *SRB*, 19 April 1933 which talks of "great numbers of Mongols" and the official attendance of representatives from Suiyuan government for the ceremony

[114] In November 1936 the SMPC announced that because of problems in transport and communications the Council's headquarters would be built not at this famous location but at a temple site in the Western Urad Banner in Ulaanchab. Construction at this new location also never eventuated. See *SRB*, 7 November 1936. The ceremony is reported in *SRB*, 2 May 1937. Fu Zuoyi was not the first, nor the last, to manipulate the Chinggis Khan symbol for political purposes; see Almaz Khan, "Chinggis Khan From Imperial Ancestor to Ethnic Hero," in Steven Harrell (ed.) *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 261-269.

complex and fraught with intrigue. Prince De concentrated upon recruitment of a Mongolian army and openly demonstrated his closer ties with the Japanese. The Japanese Guandong army assisted in building up this force and Japanese advisors held commanding positions in the new army. At the same time the Japanese had expanded their influence in north China with the establishment of the Japanese-backed Hebei-Chahar Political Affairs Council and the Eastern Hebei Anti-Communist Autonomous Government. Japanese advisors to the Mongolian Military Government also worked with local Han bandits such as the famous bandit/landlord of the Houtao, Wang Ying, as part of a strategy to push westward into Suiyuan province.[115] By continued adventurism and fermentation of intrigue, Japanese advisors set Prince De's Mongol army on a collision course with Suiyuan authorities.[116]

Finally, in early November 1936, armed conflict broke out in eastern Suiyuan as Wang Ying's bandit army and part of the Mongol army of Prince De attempted to occupy the Taolin county seat. Fu Zuoyi's troops mounted a defence of the town. Beile-yin sume now also became drawn into the conflict as Prince De ordered his troops, commanded by Japanese advisors, to the temple complex to defend it. In a greatly celebrated surprise attack, however, at dawn on 24 November, Fu Zuoyi's forces quickly occupied the temple area and the Mongol troops retreated with their Japanese advisors.

The conflict in eastern Suiyuan and Fu's capture of Beile-yin sume thrust Suiyuan into the national spotlight as never before. In November 1936 in particular "frontline Suiyuan" became the object of a nation-wide outpouring of concern. The *Suiyuan Daily* printed telegrams of support received from all over China and reported on donations of money flooding in to support the soldiers.[117] Fu Zuoyi's success at Beile-yin sume now made this location, already famous as the site of the Inner Mongol autonomy movement, into a site of national resistance against the Japanese. Indeed, by the involvement of the Japanese in Prince De's cause, Fu Zuoyi was able to appropriate Beile-yin sume much more fundamentally and absolutely than was ever possible during the period of the MPC. Bailingmiao—and of course it was the Chinese transliteration of the Mongolian name which

[115] Wang Ying was the son of the famous Hetao channel builder, landlord, and strongman Wang Tongchun.

[116] The most detailed account of these events is in Jagchid, *The Last Mongol Prince*, pp. 149-163.

[117] See for example *SRB*, 22 November 1936.

was used—suddenly became an important site for the Chinese nation. Chinese possession of the temple complex functioned now to dramatise the value of Suiyuan as national territory and reinforce the underpinnings of its territoriality.

Bailingmiao's new status is reflected in its treatment in the *Suiyuan County by County Products Atlas with a Supplement on Alashan and Ejine Banners* published in 1937 by the Northwest developmental enthusiast Zhuo Hongmo. The map and discussion of Bailingmiao is in a sense anomalous as the Atlas is dedicated principally to maps of each of Suiyuan's 18 "counties" (Zhuo includes preliminary counties in this total) and lists of each county's local products.[118] And yet the symbolism of Bailingmiao appearing amongst such provincial company is strong:

> In 1936 De Wang revolted and the Suiyuan Provincial Chairman, Fu Zuoyi, led his troops to conquer this temple. Again [the temple complex] sustained slight damage because of bombardment. This year [i.e. 1937], at the time of the Qingming festival [the traditional Chinese festival to commemorate the dead], the head of the Provincial Department of Construction, Feng Xi sent officials to the temple to plant 48,000 trees covering an area of 200 *mu* ... officers and men of the 70th battalion carried out the transplanting...plans are in progress to create a forest as an expanded memorial [to the fallen soldiers].[119]

Following Fu Zuoyi's taking of Bailingmiao, it could now be physically remodeled as a provincial place of significance and a shrine to Suiyuan's fallen soldiers. Suiyuan's incorporation of Mongol space now seemed complete.

[118] Zhuo Hongmou, *Suiyuan fenxian wuchan tu fu Alashan, Ejina qi* (Beiping: No publisher given, 1937).

[119] Zhuo Hongmou, *Suiyuan fenxian wuchan tu fu Alashan, Ejina qi*, p. 107.

EPILOGUE

SUIYUAN EFFACED

On 15 March 1937, in a solemn ceremony at Martyrs' Park outside of Guisui, officials, soldiers, and townspeople gathered to commemorate the recent sacrifices of troops in eastern Suiyuan and at Beile-yin sume. The national profile of this ceremony was unprecedented. In remembrance of those who died securing the Chinese nation's victory in the face of Japanese aggression and Mongol betrayal in the wintry expanses of Suiyuan in November and December of the previous year, the central government ordered that flags throughout China be flown at half mast. Among the dignitaries who flew to Guisui to attend were the high-ranking GMD and government leader Wang Jingwei and, on his first visit since his brief expedition through the area at the head of troops in late 1911, the head of the Taiyuan Pacification Office and the dominant force in Suiyuan politics, Yan Xishan.[1] In such circumstances Suiyuan became the most important symbol of Chinese national resistance to the Japanese before the outbreak of war in the summer of 1937. In retrospect, however, this commemoration was the high point of Suiyuan's existence within the Republic. A writer pointed out the paradox of Suiyuan's position during the build up of tension in eastern Suiyuan in late 1936:

> People of the nation had never paid attention to Suiyuan... They all felt that this was a piece of uncivilised and wild territory... Now, because enemies have come, the people of the nation and the [central] government have moved from a position of not caring to gradually knowing where Suiyuan is situated.[2]

In other words, Suiyuan finally gained recognition in the eyes of the nation because of its threatened extinction.

[1] *SRB*, 15, 16 March 1937.
[2] Wang Suizhi, "Jin hou de ben kan," *Suiyuan* (formerly known as the *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Association Journal*), vol. 7, no. 1, (1936), p. 1.

OCCUPATION AND EFFACEMENT

The confidence with which Suiyuan incorporated Mongol space was deceptive. At the same time as the occupation of Beile-yin sume was being celebrated in December 1936, Guisui was engaged in its first series of air-raid drills.[3] Although the Japanese advance had been halted temporarily, Suiyuan enjoyed only a brief respite from war and the threat of occupation. The Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937 initiated the outbreak of full-scale war in north China and events developed quickly in Suiyuan as a result. After the capture of Beiping and Tianjin in late July, Japanese forces took Kalgan, the capital of Chahar province, in late August. A month later Japanese troops and soldiers of Prince Demchugdongrub's Mongolian Military Government had taken Taolin in eastern Suiyuan and regained Beile-yin sume. Around this time Fu Zuoyi withdrew troops from Suiyuan to help with the defence of Shanxi and, defended by a reduced military force, Guisui fell to a combined force of Japanese and Mongol troops on 14 October 1937. These troops then swept quickly across the Tumed plain to occupy the county seat of Salaqi and Baotou. For the remainder of the war all sections of Suiyuan west of the Houtao and north of the Yellow River came under the control of a series of manifestations of a Mongolian government led by Prince Demchugdongrub and backed by the Japanese.[4] A Suiyuan government-in-exile was based initially in northern Shaanxi province and, after February 1939, in Linhe County in the western section of the Houtao. This government continued to assert a weak authority in Wuyuan and Linhe counties and the western section of the Anbei Preparatory County in the Houtao region, as well as in Dongsheng County in the Ordos.[5]

After the defeat of the Japanese and the collapse of Demchugdongrub's government in 1945, Fu Zuoyi returned to Guisui; however, areas of eastern Suiyuan and the Tumed plain quickly became contested between the Chinese Communist Party's army and Fu Zuoyi's troops. For two years after September 1946 Chairman Fu managed to assert control over all of Suiyuan's original counties, but from September 1948 onwards his power began to ebb in the face of a

[3] *SRB*, 22 December 1936.
[4] Hao Weimin (ed.), *Nei Menggu jindai jianshi*, (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1990), pp. 166-167.
[5] Zhou Qingshu (ed.), *Nei Menggu lishi dili* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1994), p. 274.

renewed challenge from the Communists. The CCP claimed Suiyuan Province in its entirety in September 1949. Suiyuan finally ceased to exist as a territorial entity after its incorporation within the new People's Republic of China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in March 1954.

What remained of Suiyuan after its dismantling? The province continued to have a phantom existence on the maps and in various representative institutions (such as the National Assembly), of the Republic of China in its exile on Taiwan. Former Suiyuan officials such as the head of Suiyuan's Education Department in the mid-1930s, Yan Wei, and Zhang Xiamin, who eventually became head of the Suiyuan Provincial Department of Finance in 1946, were among the Suiyuaners that fled to the island to begin a new life in exile after 1949.[6] These two men became active in later years in the Suiyuan *tongxianghui* in Taiwan. From the late 1970s into the 1990s this organisation published an annual journal dedicated to the written contributions of its now elderly members.[7] Such writings included reminiscences of political events and figures, memoirs of home villages and towns, accounts of other features of Suiyuan provincial life such as local specialty food and customs, and occasional pieces and obituaries mourning the loss of fellow members. By the 1980s some members had begun to revisit the area and to report nostalgically in the journal of their impressions of the changes that had taken place.[8]

In mainland China the legacy of Suiyuan since its disappearance has been chiefly historiographic. In a disguised form Suiyuan remains as an important focus in the modern history of Inner Mongolia and the IMAR as it is written in the People's Republic. Orthodox accounts of the early period of the revolution in Inner Mongolia concentrate upon developments in Suiyuan in the 1920s and 1930s. The main actors in this history are Tumed Mongols such as Yun Ze (Ulanfu) who gained their education in Guisui's schools before becoming the earliest "minority nationality" component of the CCP.[9] Moreover examination

[6] Zhang Xiamin defended Suiyuan in the *Suiyuan Students in Beiping Society Study Journal* in 1931 in response to the negative depiction of the province in a series of fourteen "letters" appearing in the Tianjin *Dagong bao* at the time. See Chapter Four for a discussion.

[7] *Suiyuan wenxian*, nos 1-20, 1977 – 1996.

[8] *Suiyuan wenxian*, nos 1-20, 1977 – 1996, passim.

[9] See Justin Tighe, "Revolution Beyond the Wall: Tumed Mongol Memoirs and the Construction of an Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Narrative 1919-1928" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, La Trobe University, 1993), for an examination of Inner Mongolian revolutionary historiography in the PRC. However as Bulag notes, in the

of the holdings and collections of the IMAR provincial-level archives and provincial-level library in Hohhot reveals that Suiyuan's government files and publications, its newspapers and periodicals, its local gazetteers and other texts form the largest body of surviving written material now associated with Inner Mongolia for the Republican period.[10]

Continuing Themes

A central argument of this book has been the importance of ordering and naming territory in asserting visions of political community and claims to possession of place. Through the 23 years until its partial occupation in 1937 Suiyuan gained its ultimate meaning from an incorporationist vision of political community which privileged the Chinese nationalist project of making the area within the modern Chinese nation-state. The re-making of administrative geography and re-naming of place continued after the establishment of the Japanese-backed Mongolian Federated Leagues Government of Prince Demchugdongrub in Guisui in late 1937 (it moved to Kalgan in 1941). The new government made changes to the administrative geography of the area in accord with a Mongolian nationalist reading of the territory. The most obvious examples of this were the official renaming of Guisui as Hohhot and the division of the territory claimed by the new Mongol government between a series of five Mongolian leagues—Yeke-juu, Ulaanchab, Chahar, Shilin-gol, and the newly-created Baiyantala League. This new league took in the southeastern section of Suiyuan not within Yeke-juu and Ulaanchab leagues and included the majority of Suiyuan's counties.[11] Through

1990s there has been a pluralisation in Inner Mongolian revolutionary historiography and a move to widen recognition of other revolutionaries from other regions of Inner Mongolia as participants in the Inner Mongolian revolution. See Uradyn E. Bulag, *The Mongols at China's Edge: History and the Politics of National Unity* (Lanham, Boulder, New York and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), pp. 137-179.

[10] To gain an overview see Nei Menggu zizhiqu dang'anguan (ed.), *Nei Menggu zizhiqu dang'anguan zhinan* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1990), passim; Te-mo-le, *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu fangzhi kaoshu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu daxue chubanshe, 1998), passim; and Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan (ed.), *Jianguo qian Nei Menggu difang baokan kaolu* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan, 1987), passim.

[11] Baiyantala league subsumed the administrations of Fengzhen, Xinghe, Taolin, Jining, Liangcheng, Helinge'er, Tuoketuo, Qingshuihe, Guisui (renamed as Bayan) Salaqi, Guyang and Wuchuan counties, together with Tumed banner, and the four Mongol banners of eastern Suiyuan. See Zhou Qingshu (ed.), *Nei Menggu lishi dili*, p.

the 1950s yet another political order—this time the CCP—reordered administrative geography in the area in line with its policy of "nationality district autonomy." With the abolition of Suiyuan Province, the area now belonged to the much larger Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. By the 1980s this provincial-level administration eventually came to be made of eight leagues, four cites and over one hundred banners and counties.[12] The problem of the co-extensiveness of Chinese and Mongol administrative units—one of the last vestiges of Qing imperial order—has been resolved in the PRC by a radical redrawing of the administrative map and restructuring of administrative units. Banners have lost their hereditary rulers and are identical with counties in structure and powers, and banners and leagues are equivalent to and fall within the same administrative hierarchies as, counties and prefectures. Also, although PRC state recognition of "nationality" (*minzu*) remains an important concept in classifying the population of the IMAR, counties and banners are no longer ethnically exclusive in their oversight of administrative subjects. Finally, the post-1949 political order in China has developed a new definition of China's Northwest which excludes southwestern Mongolia from its geographical compass.[13]

The inter-connection between the polities of territorial possession, land use, and ethnic identity has also been an important theme in this research. In its most assertive form the construction of Suiyuan involved the appropriation of Mongol territory, the re-making of it as agricultural land, and the populating of the territory with Han settlers. Mongols in the eyes of many of Suiyuan's planners would eventually be assimilated. The questions of pastoralism versus agriculture, the

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[12] Nei Menggu zizhiqu cehuiju (ed.), *Nei Menggu zizhiqu dituce* (Huhehaote: Nei Menggu zizhiqu xinwen chubanju, 1988), p. 4. It should be pointed out that during the Cultural Revolution Inner Mongolian space/territory was once again re-ordered with sections of the IMAR being drawn within the boundaries of adjacent provinces. This territory was restored in the early reform period. For a discussion of the question of possession of place and the beginnings of a post-socialist Chinese administrative reordering of space in early 21st century Inner Mongolia see Uradyn E. Bulag, "From Yeke-juu league to Ordos municipality: settler colonialism and alter/native urbanization in Inner Mongolia," *Provincial China*, vol. 7, no. 2 (October 2002), pp. 196-234.

[13] In 1950 Communist authorities established a "Greater Northwestern Administrative Region" which took in the areas of Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, Ningxia, and Shaanxi. Although abolished in 1954, the area of these five administrations has become the standard definition of the Chinese Northwest in the PRC. See He Liancheng (ed.), *Lishi yu xiwang: xibei jingji kaifa de guoqu, xianzai yu weilai* (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1997), p. 2.

immigration of Han peasants to Mongol areas, and possession of place—all of which preoccupied the makers of Suiyuan in the early 20th century—have remained as important issues in the making of the IMAR since Suiyuan's disappearance.

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND TERMS

A wang	阿王
Anbei	安北
Bai Yunti	白雲梯
Bailingmiao	白靈廟 / 白靈廟
baoken	報墾
baogao yiqie	報告一切
Baotou	包頭
baoweituan	保衛團
Baoxi hulu fusiling	包西護路副司令
bibao	壁報
bi chu bian chui wenhua luohou	閉塞邊陲文化落後
biantong	變通
bian wu	邊務
bing ken	墾墾
bu	部
buluo	部落
buzhengshi	佈政使
Cai Chengxun	蔡成勛
caizheng fen ting	財政分廳
Caizhengbu	財政部
Cen Chunxuan	岑春煊
chaogong	朝貢
chaogong guo	朝貢國
chaojin	朝覲
chi dang	赤黨
chuji	初級
chun lai qiu fan	春來秋足
chun zhi qiu hui	春至秋回
da muchang	大牧場
Daqing shan	大青山
dao	道
dao shi xue	道尹學
daotai	道台
Dayutai	大余太
De wang	德王
di jia	地價
di shang	地商
di wei guoyou, wo wei guomin	地屬國有我屬國民
difang zizhi	地方自治
dimu	地畝
Dingxiang	定襄
Dong Zhou lieguo zhi	東周列國志
Dongsheng	東勝

dui xian	兌現
dutong	都統
Eluosi jie	俄羅斯界
E'erduosi	鄂爾多斯
E'erduosi bu	鄂爾多斯部
Fan Enqin	樊恩慶
fanshu	藩屬
fanshu daiyu	藩屬待遇
fang huang	放荒
fen xia zhi bu jin	分轄之不盡
Fengehuan wei	豐川衛
Feng Xi	馮玉
Fengzhen	豐鎮
Fengzhou	豐州
Feng chuan xin sheng	豐川新聲
fei xiandai zhi zhuangtai	非現代之狀態
fei xingzheng huo teshu jiguan	非行政或特殊機關
fu	府
Gao Boyu	高伯雨
gelaohui	哥老會
Gu Jiegang	顧頡剛
guan di	官地
guan xue	官學
Guanzhong	關中
Guihua cheng	歸化城
Guihua cheng fu dutong	歸化城副都統
Guihua cheng ting	歸化城廳
Guisui	歸綏
Guisui bing bei dao	歸綏兵備道
Guisui guanchashi	歸綏觀察使
Guisui Wu Yi lianhehui	歸綏烏伊聯合會
Guisui zhongxuetang	歸綏中學堂
guonan shiqi	國難時期
guoli Meng Zang zhuanmen xuexiao	國立蒙藏專門學校
Guomindang	國民黨
Guominjun	國民軍
Guwen shiyi	古文釋義
han di	旱地
han hai	瀚海
Han Meng lianhehui	漢蒙聯歡會
Hanpu	漢圃
heijie di	黑界地
Helin'ge'er	和林格爾
Hendusitan	喜都斯坦
Hetao	河套
hou shan	後山
Houtao	後套
Houtao kendi wenda	後套墾地問答
Houhehaote	厚和豪特

hua bing wei nong	化兵为农
Hua yang yizhen qiuzai zonghui	华洋义赈救灾总会
Huabei yundonghui	华北运动会
Huaiyuan suo	怀远所
huangdi	荒地
Huang Shaoxiong	黄绍雄
Huhehaote	呼和浩特
hukou di	户口地
huiguan	会馆
hunlun Mengren zhongzu	混沌蒙人种族
ji hu	奇卜
Jiang Yanxing	蒋雁行
Jiang Zuobin	蒋作宾
jiangjun zhi lingtu	将军之领土
jiangjun zhi shu bu	将军之属部
jianguo da gang	建国大纲
jianshe	建设
jiao an	教案
Jiaodong yikenshe	胶东移垦社
jiaomin	教民
jiaoyuju	教育局
jie di yang min	借地养民
jiguan	机关
Jin	晋
Jin bian	晋边
Jin piao	晋票
Jin Sui yijia	晋绥一家
jin wei she xian	今为设县
Jining	集宁
jiu ken	旧垦
jiu piao	旧票
jun xian	君宪
Ka'erka you yi	喀尔喀右翼
kaifa Xibei	开发西北
kaiken	开垦
kaiken Meng di	开垦蒙地
kaikuo Mengjiang ronghe ge minzu	开阔蒙疆融合各民族
Kang wang	康王
Ke Meng'e	克蒙鄂
kemin ji ju	各民聚居
ken mu	垦牧
kenhu zhaodaisuo	垦户招待所
kenmin	垦民
kenmin xu zhi	垦民须知
kenwu	垦务
kenzhi	垦殖
kenzhiju	垦殖局
kenzhi qu	垦殖区
Kukuhetun	库库和屯
kouwai	口外
kouwai qi ting	口外七厅

Kuo'erka	归绥略
lai hua	来华
li	里
Li Mingzhong	李明钟
Li Taifen	李台芬
Li Xin	李昕
liang di	粮地
liang hu	粮户
lieshi gongyuan	烈士公园
Lifanbu	理藩部
Lifanyuan	理藩院
Linhe	林河
lishi tongzhi	理事同知
liu cheng di	六成地
liumin	流民
liuxuesheng	留学生
lu	路
Lu sheng shou'en yikenshe	鲁省垂恩移垦社
Mao ming'an	茂明安
meng	盟
Meng	蒙
Meng Han he zhi	蒙汉合治
Meng huang	蒙荒
Meng ken	蒙垦
Meng Min shiwu	蒙民事务
Meng qi jiao fei siling	蒙旗喇嘛司令
Meng wu ke	蒙务科
Meng Zang shiwuyuan	蒙藏事务院
Meng Zang shiwuweiyuanhui	蒙藏事务委员会
Mengzhenghui	蒙政会
Menggu	蒙古
Menggu daili tiaojian	蒙古代垦条件
Menggu difang zizhi zhengwu weiyuanhui	蒙古地方自治政务委员会
Menggu meng bu qi zuzhi banfa	蒙古盟部旗组织办法
mengqi dangweihui	盟旗党委会
min ken	民垦
minren	民人
minzu quyu zizhi	民族区域自治
mu	亩
muqun	牧群
neidi	内地
Nei Menggu	内蒙古
nei zhasake Menggu	内扎萨克蒙古
neishu youmu Menggu	内属游牧蒙古
Neiwubu	内务部
nianban	年班
Ningshuo wei	宁朔卫
Ningyuan	宁远
Nongshangbu	农商部

nongye	農業
Pan Juying	潘鞠楹
Pan Yan	潘彥
Pan Xiuren	潘秀仁
Pianguan	偏關
pingfan shuo mo	旧平番朔漠
pingfan worang	旧平番沃壤
Pingdiquan	平地泉
Pinglu	平魯
pingmin xuexiao	平民學校
po xie	破鞋
putong	普通
qi	旗
Qi Zhihou	祁志厚
Qin ming duban Meng qi kenwu dachen	欽命督辦蒙旗墾務大臣
qing	頃
qingli	清理
Qingshuihe	清水河
qingzhang	青丈
qiren	旗人
quan ken	勸墾
quannongyuan	勸農員
quanxuesuo	勸學所
ru bantu	入版圖
ru ji	入籍
ru Meng	入蒙
ru shou	入手
Saiwai	塞外
san/shu ting	散一廳廳
san/shu zhou	散一廳州
Salaqi	薩拉齊
Sha Mingyuan	沙明遠
Shahukou	殺虎口
shan hou	山後
shehui jianshe	社會建設
shezhiju	設治局
Shi Huayan	石華巖
shifan xuexiao	師範學校
shiye choubeichu	事業籌備處
shuidi	水地
shun yi wang	順義王
shuyuan	書院
Sizi buluo	四子部落
si fang	私放
si ken	私墾
sishu	私塾
Sui piao	綏票
Sui qu tunken duban banshichu	綏區屯墾督辦辦事處
sui shuicao er ju	隨水草爾居

Suiguang	綏光
Suiyuan cheng	綏遠城
Suiyuan cheng jiangjun	綏遠城將軍
Suiyuan fanggong huiyi	綏遠防共會議
Suiyuan fatuan	綏遠墾團
Suiyuan junmin	綏遠軍民
Suiyuan kenwu zongju	綏遠墾務總局
Suiyuan lü Ping xuehui	綏遠旅平學會
Suiyuan quanqu jiaoyuhui	綏遠全區教育會
Suiyuan sheng jingnei Menggu ge meng qi difang zizhi zhengwu weiyuanhui	綏遠省境內蒙古各盟旗地方自治政務委員會
Suiyuan sheng shehui jiaoyusuo	綏遠省社會教育所
Suiyuan sheng zhengweihui	綏遠省政委會
Suiyuan shiyeting/kenwu zongju quannongtuan	綏遠事業廳/墾務總局勸農團
Suiyuan tebie xingzheng qu	綏遠特別行政區
Suiyuan zhenwuhui	綏遠鎮務會
Taiyuan suijing shu	太原綏靖署
Taolin	陶林
tankuan	攤款
te huo	特貨
teshu jiguan	特殊機關
tianzi	天子
tongsu jiaoyusuo	通俗教育所
tongxianghui	同鄉會
tu zhu	土著
tuanti sixiang	團體思想
tudi	土地
tunken	屯墾
tuntian	屯田
Tuoketuo	托克托
tuteng shehui	圖騰社會
waifan	外藩
waifan Menggu	外藩蒙古
wai Menggu	外蒙古
wai zhasake Menggu	外扎薩克蒙古
wai zhasake ka'erka Menggu	外扎薩克喀爾喀蒙古
wanggong	王公
Wang Jingguo	王靜國
Wang Tongchun	王同春
Wang Ying	王英
Wen Zhehun	文哲勳
wenhua luohou fengqi wan kai	文化落後風氣晚開
Woye	沃野
Wu Heling	吳鶴齡
Wu Yi liang meng shisan qi lianhehui	烏伊兩盟十三旗聯合會
wu zu gongheguo	五族共和國
wu zu xueyuan	五族學院
Wulate	烏喇特
Wulanchabu meng	烏蘭察布盟
Wuchuan	武川

Wuchuan xia jing ye 武川軍境屯垦
Wuyuan ting 五原廳

Xi Menggu 西蒙古
xian 縣
Xiang min yiken Xibei hezuoshe 湘民移墾西北合作社
xibei 西北
xibei dangju 西北當局
xibei biantong 西北變通
Xibei kenwu chouban hui 西北垦務籌辦會
Xibei qingnian 西北青年
Xitao Menggu 西套蒙古
Xinghe ting (xian) 興和廳（縣）
xinli jianshe 心理建設
xiu bian zheng 修邊政
xu Meng 旭蒙
xuanhua shi 宣化使
xue e 學額
xuetang 學堂
xuewuju 學務局
xumuye 畜牧業

ya huang 押荒
Yan Wei 閻偉
Yang Lingde 楊令德
ye hu 業戶
yi xue 義學
Yikezhao meng 伊克昭盟
yi Menggu buluo wei zhi pingfan 以蒙古部落爲之平番
yi lu zhao jiu 以工代賑
yi min shi bian 移民實邊
yi yu fengjian 以屯養墾
Yigu 斯古
yan kuan 鹽款
yan mu fakuan 鹽畝罰款
yong zu 永租
youmu 游牧
Yu gong 禹貢
yu Meng shuotie 與蒙說帖
Yu Xian 毓賢
Yulin 榆林
Yun Ze 惲澤
Yunzhong 雲中

Zhang Jian 張謇
Zhang Shaozeng 張紹曾
Zhang Weixi 張蔚西
Zhang Xiamin 張遐民
zhangcheng 章程
zhangfang 丈放
Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽
zhao min kaiken 招民開墾
Zhao Pilian 趙丕廉

zhasake 扎薩克
zheng Meng 征蒙
Zhenning suo 鎮寧所
zhi 殖
zhili ting 直隸廳
zhili zhou 直隸州
Zhongguo 中國
Zhongguo fudi 中國腹地
Zhongguo minzu 中國民族
Zhonghua minzu 中華民族
zhu fang ba qi Menggu 駐防八旗蒙古
zhu jing ba qi Menggu 駐京八旗蒙古
Zhu Shuxin 朱啟鈐
zhuanlun 轉輪
zhuanzhi shidai 專制時代
zizhi 自治
zongwuchu 總務處
zongguan 總管
zuoling 佐領

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